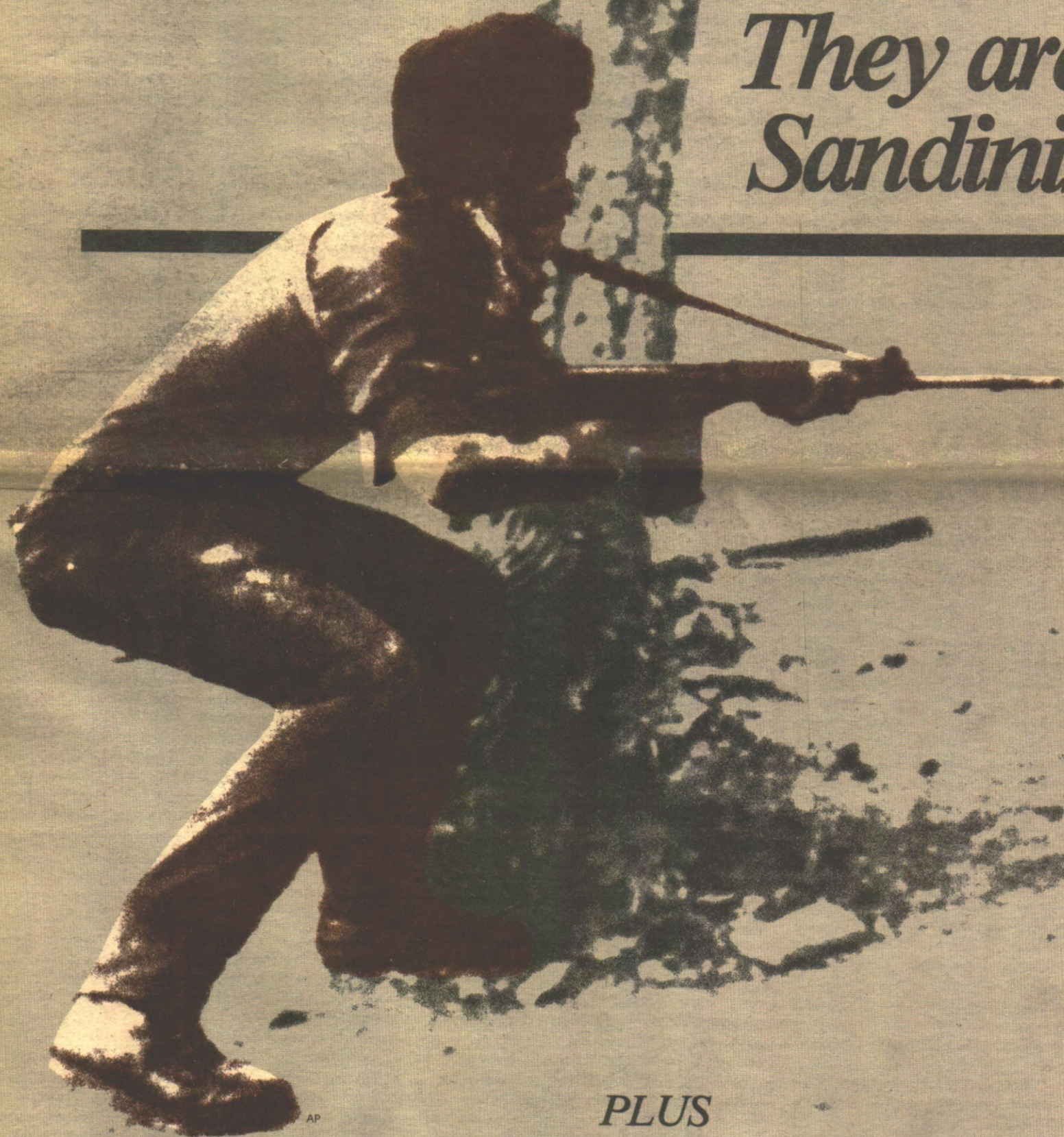




NICARAGUA

*They are all
Sandinistas*



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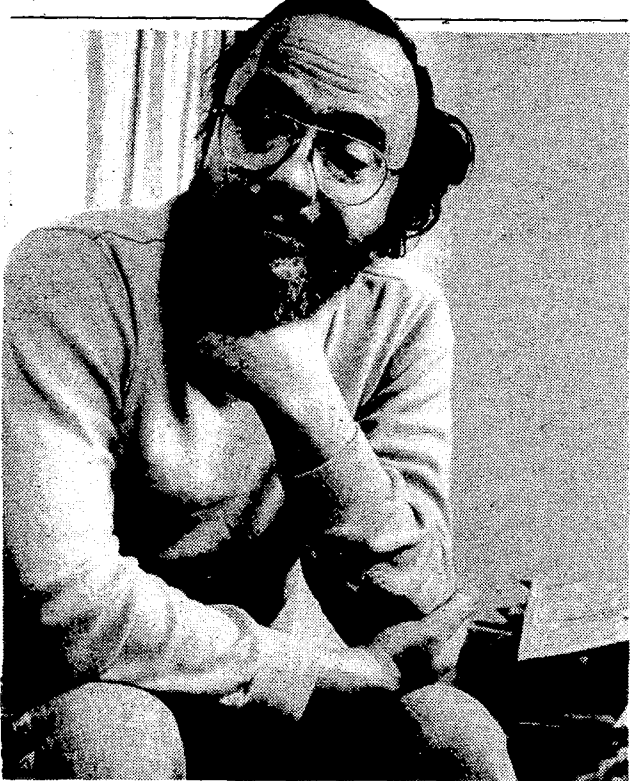
Labor is skeptical of new third party proposals

Liberals threaten to reject SALT because of MX

Socialists lose seats in Europarlament election

THE INSIDE STORY

JOHN JUDIS



Don Rose

Progress report on the Citizens Party

Efforts to form a left-wing third party that might eventually displace one of the two major parties are proceeding apace. At a May 30 meeting, the organizers of the Citizens Party decided to launch a presidential campaign for 1980. At their next meeting, June 28, they will adopt a position paper that will clarify the party's aims and suggest a program.

Present at the May 30 meeting were Archibald Gilles, head of the John Hay Whitney Foundation, who once ran for the New York city council as a Republican, David Hunter, director of the Stern Fund, businessman Stanley Weiss, who has funded anti-nuclear groups, ex-Hunter aide Stephen Haft, Jeff Faux and Gar Alperovitz, of the Exploratory Project of Economic Alternatives, Peter Weiss, a New York lawyer who is on the board of the Institute for Policy Studies, Wade Rathke from ACORN, Adam Hochschild from *Mother Jones*, community activist Dan Leahy, Ruth Abrams from the Women's Action Alliance, Barry Commoner, and Don Rose, who ran Jane Byrne's mayoralty campaign in Chicago.

Rathke and Abrams, the only participants who came from constituency groups, opposed the 1980 presidential bid. "We're open to a third party," Rathke said afterwards at ACORN's New Orleans office, "but 1980 is tomorrow. Any discussion of running people for President in 1980 seems to us not firmly grounded in reality."

"It's hard to build something getting your ass whipped," Rathke said.

Don Rose, appointed the group's spokesman, said the decision to go presidential was based on the assumption that "the issues would be more visible in a national race." Rose added that "any other such effort in a presidential year would be lost anyway."

According to Rose, the position paper that he is helping to draft will highlight the nationalization of energy, the transition to solar energy, and local and national economic planning as key issues in the 1980 campaign.

Labor is skeptical.

As might be expected, the Citizens Party has not received a warm reception in left-labor circles. "There is no necessity to go through the tortures of a third party," Bill Dodds, director of the United Auto Workers-organized Progressive Alliance, said.

"We're not ready for a third party," Bill Hoylater of the Machinists said. "The Machinists are taking the line that there is still hope for the Democratic Party. Our whole thrust is to try to encourage Sen. Kennedy to run."

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Lee Webb of the Conference on State and Local Alternative Public Policies described himself as a "friendly, but distant observer" of the Citizens Party. "I decided to spend most of my time working in the Democratic Party," Webb said.

Members of the Democratic Socialist Organizing Committee (DSOC), which is planning a major pre-1980 conference for the fall, were also cool about the Citizens Party. Without substantial labor support, they couldn't imagine it succeeding, they said.

Mike Ansara of Massachusetts Fair Share expressed similar doubts. "I am skeptical about it," he said.

One Washington intellectual, who is close to labor's left wing, thought the conditions simply don't exist for a third party. "There is a great oceanic sense of dissatisfaction," he said, "but the people are not prepared to take the kind of risks and make the kind of changes that a third party requires."

Role of spoiler.

Citizens Party founders must also confront traditional arguments against third party politics. By deciding elections on a winner-take-all rather than a proportional basis, the American system casts third parties in the role of spoilers. Most third parties, from the Populist to the Progressive to the American Independent Party, have emerged because the major parties ignored a particular constituency, but they were soon absorbed by those parties.

In the 1980 election, the Citizens Party organizers acknowledge that their best hope is a Carter-Baker race. If Kennedy runs, Rose admits, he "would probably capture a substantial part of the energies that would go into the party." And if Carter faced Ronald Reagan or John Connally, the party would be put in a position of aiding the right wing by drawing votes from the Democrats. (In 1976, Eugene McCarthy's feeble 0.9 percent of the primary vote provided the margin of defeat for Carter in Iowa, Oregon, Oklahoma, and Maine, and very nearly in Ohio.)

Rose, Commoner, and Gilles cite, however, the great exception to this third-party history: the Republican Party of 1860, which was formed out of old Whigs, anti-slavery Democrats, and the abortive Liberty and Free-Soil parties. The Republican Party arose, they note, because neither of the major parties was willing to take a stand on slavery. The Citizens Party will similarly be alone in facing the issues of solar energy and public control of capital.

They are willing to take the rap as spoilers in 1980 in the expectation that over the subsequent four or eight years the Citizens Party will displace either the Republicans or Democrats as major parties.

Candidates and petitions.

To get even the 5 percent of the vote they say they are aiming for in 1980, the Citizens Party will have to consolidate its forces very quickly. Rose says they are considering a founding convention in January 1980 and a presidential nominating convention by August.

As yet, the party lacks both the prospect of a credible candidate (Commoner, who lacks a popular reputation, is the most frequently mentioned choice), and an army of third party volunteers, who could circulate the petitions to get the party on state ballots. The anti-nuclear movement may help, but some will back Jerry Brown and others are not that interested in electoral politics. "People's focus is elsewhere," Ward Young of California's Abalone Alliance said. "They don't want to get involved in national elections."

Probably the only problem the Citizens Party doesn't face is money. They have already raised enough for a Washington office and two staff people, and Gilles, Weiss, and Hunter are reportedly capable of raising up to \$4 million to finance a third party effort. This money

could overcome an initial lack of volunteers.

Significant attempt.

The Citizens Party may fizzle. But the attempt to form it is significant. It represents a further erosion of the consensus that bound together labor, minorities, feminists, and environmentalists with business in the Democratic Party. It cannot do worse, it seems, than force Carter, Kennedy, and Brown to address themselves to nationalization and solar energy. As Rose notes, the Progressive Party of 1948, for all its failings, did force Harry Truman to the left.

If Carter does get the nomination, it could lay the grounds for a more significant effort in 1984, either outside or inside the Democratic Party. It will more likely resemble in its historical trajectory the Liberty Party of 1844 than the Republican Party of 1860, but, of course, the Republican Party probably would not have formed without the abolitionists having stuck their necks out.

Its present lack of a base among labor or community organizations is lamentable, but it is neither surprising nor grounds for abandoning the effort. Organizations dedicated solely to eradicating immediate ills are not going to risk their political capital in backing a party that will at best garner 5 percent of the vote, especially still waiting in the wings. Unions like the United Auto Workers and AFSCME, who face upcoming contract battles, are unwilling at this point even to break with Carter.

The Citizens Party—or any other grouping that professes to break with corporate politics—will eventually have to win the formal support of the important labor, minority, women's, and community organizations, but its immediate test will be among the rank and file. If the Democrats prove sufficiently callous to popular needs, and if the Citizens Party can gain popular backing, it will eventually draw in these groups.

Notes and quotes

● Alan Greenspan, the Ayn Rand disciple who headed the Council of Economic Advisors under Gerald Ford, told the *New York Times* that overall there would have been little difference between Ford's and Carter's economic policies. "The rhetoric is the same," Greenspan added.

● The president of the Oil, Chemical and Atomic Workers (OCAW), A.F. Grospiron, unexpectedly has announced his retirement, throwing open the presidency to an election at the union's August convention. Running will be Tony Mazzochi, opponent of the nuclear power companies and advocate of the nationalization of energy.

● Teddy Kennedy rumors grow. Kennedy's acknowledgement to the *Boston Globe* that he would "probably run" if Carter decided to drop out followed a CBS-*New York Times* poll that showed Carter's popularity at an all-time low (30 percent approval). It also showed Kennedy as the presidential choice of 52 percent of the Democrats compared to 23 percent for Carter. In a recent California poll, Kennedy defeats Ronald Reagan by 61-30 percent, while Carter loses to Reagan 44-43 percent.

● The April 1979 issue of *Monthly Labor Review* summarizes the University of Michigan's Survey Research Center study of Americans' attitudes toward organized labor. Among the more interesting discoveries: 33 percent of non-unionized workers surveyed said they would vote for a union in their place of work. This figure breaks down to 39 percent of non-unionized blue-collar workers, 67 percent of non-unionized minority workers, 40 percent of non-unionized women workers and 35 percent of non-unionized workers in the South.

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'Muchachos' battle the 'beasts'

By Victoria Schultz

MANAGUA, NICARAGUA

OUTSIDE THE SMALL TOWN of Masaya, I witnessed one of the first acts of liberation by the Sandinistas during the insurrection that is now taking place in Nicaragua. There the Sandinistas threw open the doors of four silos in a granary owned, as so much else in the country is, by the Somoza family, which has ruled the land for more than four decades.

A lot of people were filling sacks with wheat from the silos. A very young guerrilla, his face, as is the custom, covered by a red and black bandana—those are the colors of the Sandinistas—explained that the granaries were now in the hands of the people.

One woman told me that the wheat came as a great help in this time of scarcity. She definitely supported the insurrection and hoped the suffering and starvation the people are facing would not be in vain.

An old man standing next to her with a heavy sack of grain on his back agreed with her. "We are all Sandinistas," he said. That's a phrase I've heard repeated over and over again in barrio after barrio. Next to the silos everyone was moving very quickly, glancing furtively at the sky where National Guard planes were circling at low altitudes. That day they had already bombed the town of Masaya ten times.

Near the granary was a small village that was also a liberated zone at that moment. I could tell because the people had opened their doors and windows on both sides of the dirt road that led to the town. They were welcoming the young Sandinista fighters, the *muchachos*, as they are called by the people. As two of the Sandinistas, holding shotguns taped together, were telling me about the fighting in Masaya, a woman came out from her house and asked the boys in a motherly manner if they would like something to eat. "Not now. Later," they answered.

In the village street I saw for once lots of smiling faces and flashes of victory signs, but then as if a bolt of lightning had struck, all the doors and windows closed, and the boys took positions behind a porch. "The beasts," as the Guardsmen are called, were coming.

It was a false alarm, but the general reaction was indicative of the terror people feel toward the National Guard, which acts as President Anastasio Somoza's private army.

A week and a half after the general strike had shut down all commercial activity in the country I saw another massive act of liberation. Last Wednesday, during a lull in the fighting in Managua, the capital, the Sandinistas opened the doors of warehouses of Aceite Corona, the food-oil plant owned by Somoza. Word of it spread like wildfire in a city where the poor people had run out of food supplies. Hundreds of people walking in the streets carried on their heads cartons of juice, oil and margarine. One man's box was melting in the noon-hour heat. So he was walking with oil dripping all over him.

"We are thankful for the Sandinistas, because we are hungry," the people told me. At this moment, they felt so victorious that they didn't even bother waving the white pieces of cloth that people use as a safety blanket when they venture out in the street.

"I feel happy about the Sandinista revolutionary movement because there is a terrible crisis here in Nicaragua. Now we are going to continue fighting to make Nicaragua a free country," one of the people coming from the Aceite Corona plant said proudly.

These tiny moments of victory are a



In an all-too-common scene, the family of a young man slain by Nicaraguan dictator Somoza's National Guard gathers (above) before his burial (below).

Sandinistas open food storehouses to the poor but blood flows in the streets from Somoza terror

rarity, but they are the sparks of hope that help keep up the fighting spirit of the Nicaraguans, who during the past weeks have experienced an enormous wave of death and destruction.

"This is much worse than the earthquake," a man who had fled to a Red Cross shelter told me, referring to the natural disaster that shook Managua in 1972, leaving 18,000 dead and close to 200,000 homeless. The whole center of the capital was also destroyed, and hasn't been rebuilt since all the foreign aid ended up in the President's own pocket.

The Sandinistas' big offensive started several days after the general strike began on June 4. Fighting broke out first in the urban areas of the provinces—Leon and Esteli in the north, Rivas in the south. Then the small towns in the center of the country joined the fighting. The National Guard moved its Sherman tanks and armored cars from one place to another, but finally concentrated its weaponry and manpower in the capital.

One way the people prepared for the insurrection was through the Committees of Civil Defense organized by the Sandinistas. Just before the strike I attended a committee meeting in one small town. Present were representatives from each block committee of the town's poor area. Most were older women who were just realizing that in fact they too could do something to change their lives. "We need health care. Our children need schools. That's what we're fighting for," they cried out.

The Sandinista leading the meeting said that all preparations had been made: "Yes, we have empty bottles, at least five in each house. We're trying to find tires. Food and water have been stored. Barricades have been built inside the houses. Children and old people will be moved to the safest buildings. We are prepared for the wounded." The women's militancy was simple, practical and strong.

But even the best of preparations offer little protection when the well-equipped National Guard strikes with tanks, heavy machine guns and fighter planes. The result is often an outright massacre, since

civilians are probably being killed in greater numbers than actual guerrilla fighters. Talking about casualty figures at the press conference last week, Somoza said that everyone who moves in the streets could be considered a Sandinista, and that the civilian population should stay at home and "lay low."

Somoza has also let it be understood that the National Guard is no longer taking prisoners, so that the Sandinistas cannot mount operations for their release. This means that people are shot on the spot, regardless of who they are. Daily I have heard stories of totally indiscriminate murder by the National Guard.

In a poor section of Managua, a thin young woman with black eyes told me how the Guardsmen had arrived the previous morning and started knocking on people's doors, demanding to know why they were closed. They had come to her house, dragged her two brothers outside, where they stood with their arms raised.

The Guardsmen had told them to lie down on the ground. One of the brothers asked if he could get on his knees to pray. The Guardsman answered by opening fire. The husband of the young woman's neighbor had been shot in like manner.

While she was telling me of this horrendous experience, it started to rain heavily. A puddle that formed in front of her house turned red from the blood that had been spilled on the ground the previous day. The Red Cross arrived in the afternoon. The three bodies were buried in one grave in the back yard beneath a mango tree.

After the insurrection began, Guardsmen began disseminating terror by killing people at random in their homes, at the front step of their homes and on the streets. No questions are asked. Last week a state of siege was proclaimed officially, but it has been a fact of life for a long time. Martial law has also crased even the semblance of legality in the country.

A lawyer who works with human rights questions was very depressed when he told me of how horribly impotent he feels. "I can't help people who are asking for help," he said. Politically he was a moderate and thus unwilling to join the Sandinista side actively, though he passively supports it.

Now the Nicaraguans are ready to stick it out to the very last. Somoza is trying to blame foreign countries, mainly Panama, Venezuela and Costa Rica, for the insurrection in his country, refusing adamantly to recognize the fact that the overwhelming majority of Nicaraguans are against him. The deep hatred people feel for the Somoza dynasty is the root cause of the insurrection now underway in Nicaragua.

"The march toward victory can't be held back," some Sandinistas chanted as they broke bottles and built a barricade in the middle of Managua. The National Guard soon swept away the barricade, but by then the *muchachos* were probably building a new one elsewhere.



IN SHORT



Andrew Popper

Joanne Little, the woman who became a civil rights symbol when she was accused of killing a guard who attempted to rape her while she was in prison on another charge, was released from prison in North Carolina last week. Released early because of good behavior, Little told reporters, "I will prove that I can stay out of trouble." Little will work as a file clerk for the National Conference of Black Lawyers, in New York, while she is pursuing a cosmetology license.

NATION

Low-level radiation risks minimized

ATLANTA—Hundreds of thousands of people are exposed to low-level radiation as trucks carrying more than 2.5 million packages of radioactive substances each year travel across the U.S. emitting various amounts of radiation doses to people along the route, Arthur DuCharme told the 25th annual meeting of the American Nuclear Society.

DuCharme, of Sandia Laboratories in New Mexico, then minimized the danger by telling the group that the "risk is very small." He estimated that "no more than one additional cancer death a year might result from this type of exposure."

DuCharme's findings were based on a study conducted in New York City. New York accounts for 13 percent of all radioactive shipments in the U.S. yearly.

Lightly shielded trucks carry the radioactive materials, most of which are destined for medical use, he said.

Corliss Lamont wins CIA suit

NEW YORK—Corliss Lamont, noted civil libertarian and founder of the National Emergency Civil Liberties Committee, was awarded \$2,000 in damages in his lawsuit against the Central Intelligence Agency (CIA). Lamont sued the CIA for illegal and unconstitutional openings of his private correspondence.

"For 20 years the excuse of 'national security' has been abused," Lamont said, adding, "The Carter administration has still not issued guidelines for a charter for the CIA that will protect American citizens against government intrusions."

Lamont donated the money to the NECLC to promote effective guidelines for the FBI and CIA.

Medical abortions further tightened

WASHINGTON—Clearly showing their disdain for the recent Supreme Court ruling that protected Medicaid-funded abortions (See *ITT*, June 13), the House Appropriations Committee voted last week to tighten guidelines that have already cut off 99 percent of publicly-funded abortions.

Government-financed abortions will now be allowed only in cases where a woman's life is in danger by a full-term pregnancy. The new regulations are a deviation from rules adopted two years ago as a compromise by the House and Senate after long and heated debates between the two houses. That compromise not only allowed abortion payments if a woman's life was in danger, but also provided payments in case of rape or incest promptly reported to authorities and when two physicians certified that the woman would suffer severe and long-lasting physical damage if the pregnancy were to continue.

The number of Medicaid abortions was estimated at 300,000 a year before adoption of the compromise rules. That number dropped to 2,241 in the first 11 months of 1978, according to the Department of Health, Education and Welfare.

Schlesinger withholds oil stockpile data

WASHINGTON—Secretary of Energy James Schlesinger refused to supply data necessary for a thorough investigation of oil stockpiling, according to a Federal Trade Commission official.

Alfred Dougherty, director of the FTC's Bureau of Competition, said in testimony before a House Government Operation subcommittee that requests made in April 1978 for the data have not been fulfilled by the Energy Department. Company-by-company figures on oil supplies, refinery runs and allotments of

gasoline to dealers are needed if the FTC is to determine whether gasoline has been withheld from the market, Dougherty said.

Although so far the FTC does not have enough evidence to determine whether oil companies have been withholding gasoline for profit, "domestic refineries do not appear to have been straining to satisfy the demands of the consumer," Dougherty added.

Dougherty challenged statements by major oil companies to congressional committees that crude-oil scarcity caused by the shutdown of Iran's oilfields was the cause of the gasoline shortage.

He said U.S. imports were at "near normal" levels during the first three months of 1979 because increased production from other oil-exporting countries offset the loss of Iranian oil.

The FTC is legally responsible for determining whether oil companies "are engaged in anti-competitive and anti-consumer practices," said Rep. Benjamin Rosenthal (D-NY), subcommittee chairman.

Public confusion over the energy supply situation, a lack of public confidence in oil industry and government pronouncements argue strongly for a thorough and speedy FTC investigation, Rosenthal said, adding that he was amazed that the FTC had not gone directly to President Carter when the Energy Department did not provide the data. "These jokers are pulling the wool over the public's eyes," Rosenthal said.

Every politician is owned by someone

The *Wall Street Journal* reports that Carter lieutenant Robert Strauss, at a small political gathering attended by Vice President Walter Mondale, told the guests how at a Cabinet meeting the VP had attacked the oil companies and boasted that "the oil industry doesn't own me." The irrepressible Strauss glibly: "And I told him, 'No, Mr. Vice President, because the dairy industry wouldn't sell you.'"



Steve Kagan

Women's sports threatened

WASHINGTON—The upsurge of women's interscholastic and intercollegiate sports is in jeopardy. If a coalition of some 300 colleges and universities is successful in its intense, well-financed lobbying effort on Capitol Hill, the growth of women's sports programs mandated under Title IX of the 1972 Education Amendments Act, will be retarded by an act of Congress.

Until last week, the Department of Health, Education and Welfare guidelines that determine the conduct of women's sports programs went into effect as soon as they were published in their final form. Lobbying efforts, however, have succeeded in persuading the Congress to assume the right to approve them within 45 days of their issuance.

Behind this change, women's sports groups believe, is a campaign by the higher education coalition to overcome HEW's December proposal that colleges and universities be required to make substantially "equal per capita expenditure" for both men's and women's sports.

The women's groups have been lobbying to gain more scholarships and other forms of assistance for women's programs. They have been focusing on the Congressional review of HEW's annual appropriations, which are also under attack by the anti-Title IX coalition. Lobbyists believe that the future of women's sports is approaching a crisis situation, the full details of which will appear in next week's *Sportscene*.

—Jim Ford

Congressmen disclose oil company holdings

WASHINGTON—In statements required by the new Government in Ethics law and by House rules, members of Congress disclosed their financial interests in oil and natural gas in 1978.

The reports, issued in May, show some Congressmen had stock portfolios so diversified that their financial investments could significantly affect their votes on any number of issues.

Representatives James C. Cleveland (R-NH), William F. Clinger (R-PA), Dante B. Fascell (D-FL) and Dan Glickman (D-KS) reported holdings in some or all of the following companies: Standard Oil of California, Gulf Oil, Mobil Oil and the Exxon Corporation. Glickman, received royalties of over \$1,000 on oil and gas-producing leases in his home state.

An opponent of last year's oil price decontrol bill, John D. Dingell (D-MI), received more than \$5,500 in honorariums from oil companies and industry associations.

Financial disclosure statements for 1978 will be formally issued by the Senate later this month.

WORLD

David Sibeko dead in Tanzania

David Sibeko, a leading member of the Pan Africanist Congress of Azania (PAC) traveled around the world to tell people of the jailings, beatings and killings of blacks in South Africa. He would thunder, "But that can never stop us." Sibeko has been stopped. On the night of June 12 he was shot through the head by assassin's bullets as he was meeting with associates in Dar-Es-Salam, Tanzania.

At age 40, Sibeko was PAC's director of foreign affairs and a member of its Presidential Council. In November 1974, he became the first representative of the South African liberation movement to speak before the UN Security Council. He went on to represent PAC regularly at the UN, the Organization of African Unity and at other ministerial conferences.

A journalist by profession, Sibeko helped found PAC in 1959. United around a militant strategy and a revolutionary-nationalist program, PAC gained attention for its leading role in the 1960 Sharpsville demonstrations, when 83 people were killed in protests against laws requiring Africans to carry passes. PAC became one of the leading South African liberation organizations, and Sibeko was forced to flee his country in 1964.

Memorial meetings are being planned in major cities across the country.

—Robin Schulberg

IN SHORT is written by Laura Cianci unless otherwise indicated.

IN THE NATION

MXING ARMS WITH SALT

World's costliest missile gets Carter O.K. in treaty bid

By David Cortright & Virginia Witt

WASHINGTON, D. C.

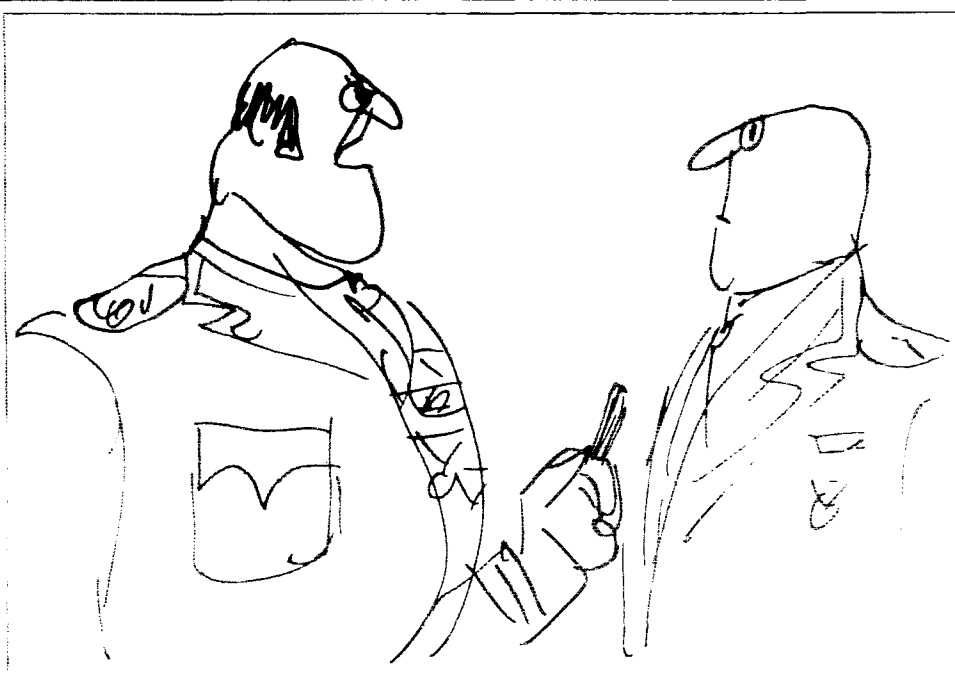
ON THE EVE OF HIS VIENNA summit and the signing of a strategic arms treaty with the Soviet Union, President Carter last week ordered a go-ahead on the MX missile. The paradoxical juxtaposition of a peace sojourn and further escalation of the nuclear arms race was no accident. SALT and the MX are linked in a blatant political trade-off. Senate hardliners and the Joint Chiefs of Staff have demanded MX—currently their favorite piece of military hardware—as their price for supporting SALT. This Faustian bargain may do more to endanger world security than the meager provisions of SALT could do to protect it.

MX enthusiasts in the Pentagon and elsewhere describe the missile in mouth-watering military superlatives. Most powerful—200 huge missiles with ten warheads apiece, each loaded with the destructive force of nearly 20 Hiroshimas. Most accurate—each individual warhead able to land its gargantuan power within 140 yards of its target. Most survivable—shuttled back and forth in underground trenches, as the current plans suggest, the MX would be virtually invulnerable to Soviet attack.

To this list of MX achievements, opponents of the missile would add two less vaunted superlatives: most expensive and most dangerous. The estimated price tag for the MX is somewhere between \$30 and \$50 billion, making it the costliest weapon system ever devised. And the extreme accuracy of the MX would bring the U.S. a step nearer a first-strike capability, seriously disrupting the delicate nuclear balance.

These points were emphasized at a June 6 press conference on Capitol Hill sponsored by SANE and the Coalition for a New Foreign and Military Policy. Dr. Herbert Scoville Jr., former Deputy Director of the CIA and a prominent arms control advocate, warned that MX deployment "could lead to the destruction of the entire SALT process." Scoville observed that the MX would directly threaten Russian land-based missiles, which comprise three-quarters of their nuclear deterrent. Such a move could force the Soviets to reciprocate with their own mobile system, Scoville noted, leading to further nuclear escalation. Scoville also emphasized that mobile or concealed missiles could seriously complicate the verification of future arms agreements and undermine the whole SALT process.

Although many liberals are remaining silent about MX until the SALT storm



In the Pentagon, Sashwaite, we never turn the other cheek.

passes, some political figures have spoken out strongly against the missile. Sen. George McGovern (D-SD) greeted the President's decision by repeating his earlier statement that he would not support the treaty if it meant approving further nuclear expansion. McGovern contended that he was now "leaning against" SALT ratification.

Sen. Mark Hatfield (R-OR) also denounced the MX decision, claiming it would make future arms treaties "an improbability if not an impossibility." Hatfield cited a Library of Congress study showing that the Pentagon overestimated by \$10 billion the cost of making the Minuteman mobile—a safer option that would avoid the shift to first-strike capability. The Oregon Republican also echoed Sen. McGovern's warning to the administration on SALT: "They're wrong to take it for granted that we're going to come along."

Opposition has also stirred in the House of Representatives. At the same press conference on June 6, Armed Services Committee members Bob Carr (D-MI) and Patricia Schroeder (D-CO) also blasted the MX. Rep. Schroeder ridiculed Air Force plans to turn the West into a giant "sponge" (the military's own term) to absorb Russian nuclear warheads. "From those of us who live out there, we want to say thank you very much," Schroeder responded. She urged that efforts be made to "demystify" the "madness" of MX.

On May 31 the full House of Representatives engaged in an unusually sharp debate over the MX. An amendment by Rep. Ron Dellums (D-CA) to delete all funding for the missile (\$190 million in the 1979 supplemental appropriation) received 89 votes.

A second amendment introduced by Rep. Berkley Bedell (D-IA), requiring a

Continued on page 8.

WOMEN'S EMPLOYMENT

High Court upholds veterans preference

By Jo Freeman

WASHINGTON, D. C.

ANOTHER BLOW WAS DEALT to women's employment opportunities by the Supreme Court June 5 when it overturned a lower court verdict and upheld the Massachusetts law giving veterans absolute preference over non-veterans in state civil service jobs.

The law had been challenged by Helen B. Feeney, a non-veteran, who had worked for the state of Massachusetts for 12 years before her job was abolished in 1975. During that time she had passed a number of open competitive civil service exams, scoring second highest on one and third highest on another.

None of these tests resulted in jobs because all veterans who had passed the same exams were ranked above her on the lists.

Veterans received preferential hiring in the federal civil service, and that of virtually all of the states. The federal government and most states grant veterans additional points on the exams. A few states allow preference only to break ties, and a few more, like Massachusetts, provide "absolute preference."

The Massachusetts law originated in 1884, when the state sought to reward Civil War veterans by giving them preference in the civil service, if—and only if—their qualifications were equal to those of competing non-veterans. In 1895 this was expanded to exempt all veterans from merit selection requirements. This law was eventually found in violation of

the state constitution, and another was passed reinstating merit selection and limiting the preference to those veterans who received passing scores.

The constitutionality of the law has been challenged many times, never successfully. Feeney was the first to challenge it on the grounds that it discriminates on the basis of sex. When Feeney first filed only 1.8 percent of Massachusetts veterans were female. Although the definition of veterans by the Massachusetts law was quite broad, women had only been permitted to serve in the armed forces in a limited capacity. Until 1967, there was a quota of 2 percent on women's services. Recognizing that women were largely prohibited from becoming veterans, the Massachusetts law had originally exempted from the preference rules those civil service "requisitions especially calling for women." This and other single sex provisions were eliminated in 1971.

Ironically, the effect of this removal was to open up to men jobs previously restricted to women, while maintaining the requirement as a criterion for the traditionally male jobs, a requirement very few women were allowed to achieve.

Because of the long-standing legal prohibitions against women becoming veterans, the District Court declared the Massachusetts law unconstitutional. It said that the impact on women was constitutionally severe, and that the state could further its goals through a more limited form of preference. However, it did find that giving preference to veterans was constitutional and that the adverse im-

pact of veterans preference on women was not intentional.

The latter findings became the basis on which the Supreme Court overturned the District Court decision and reinstated the Massachusetts preference system.

When the case was appealed, it created a stir among the government's lawyers. The administration had just lost a fight in Congress to modify the much more limited federal preference and was afraid of further attacks by veterans groups. Thus, in "friend of the court" briefs, it attempted to differentiate limited from absolute preference, so that an upholding on constitutionality of one would not have an impact on the other.

The government needn't have bothered to walk this fine line. In its decision, the Court stated that "every hiring bias for veterans, however modest or extreme, is inherently gender-biased." Consequently, "the degree should make no constitutional difference. Invidious discrimination does not become less so because the discrimination accomplished is of a lesser magnitude."

This interpretation left the Court with the alternatives of declaring all preference unconstitutional or none of it. It chose the latter. It's reasons for this choice were precisely the points given up by the District Court. The Court agreed that rewarding veterans for their service was a legitimate goal of public policy, and added that it was up to the legislatures to decide how much of a reward was appropriate.

The Court also agreed that veterans preference was not enacted intentionally to discriminate against women. But it dis-

agreed on whether such intent could be implied from the fact that the legislators must have known discrimination was a likely outcome. To reach this conclusion it relied on a 1976 case that distinguished the standard necessary to prove discrimination under Title VII (adverse impact) and that necessary to prove a government action was unconstitutional. As Columbia University law professor Ruth Bader Ginsberg explained, "The Court does not want to handle as a constitutional matter any case where the classification is neutral on its face." In other words, before the current Court will rule a seemingly neutral government action unconstitutional, that action must clearly be a pretext for discrimination.

Justices Marshall and Brennan disagreed. They said that "absent an omniscience not commonly attributable to the judiciary," it will often be impossible to ascertain the sole or even dominant purpose of a given statute. "If it can be foreseen," that discrimination is a logical outcome, then it is reasonable to assume that that outcome was one of the purposes of a law."

By using intent as the basis for determining constitutionality, this Court—largely appointed by Nixon—is continuing its conservative trend, even when laws, as the Court said in Feeney, "may reflect unwise policy."

Until there are significant new appointments to the Court, elected representatives will make the major decisions. The current court is making it clear that what once were questions of justice are now questions of politics. ■

UNIONS MERGE

By Barbara Koeppel

WASHINGTON, D. C.

IT WAS VIRTUALLY UNANIMOUS, AS delegates called to special conventions in Washington two weeks ago approved the joining of the Amalgamated Meat Cutters and Butcher Workmen of North America (AMC) and the Retail Clerks International (RCIU), for the largest merger ever in the North American labor movement. The new union—called the United Food and Commercial Workers (UFCW)—with 1.3 members, is now the largest in the AFL-CIO, moving ahead of the United Steelworkers and AFSCME, and the fourth largest in the country, behind the Teamsters, National Education Association and United Auto Workers.

The move was distinctly practical, if not inevitable, since 800,000 of the members work under the same roof, in supermarkets. It was also a clearly defensive tactic, forced by recent corporate mergers in the food industry, which have deeply eroded labor's power at the bargaining table.

Speakers told the delegates that the new union would have a stronger front to fight the multinationals. According to Harry Poole, president of the AMC, "Conglomerates in the meat packing industry are the order of the day and corporate power is almost unregulated." As examples, he pointed to Armour, now "run as a sideline by Greyhound, Morrell, now controlled by United Brands and Swift, once primarily a food corporation, now highly diversified, with large holdings in oil and ladies undergarments under the brand name Playtex." He noted that much of the stock and even entire firms like the Grand Union chain are now foreign owned.

As a result, companies once prepared to negotiate compromise agreements are taking a hard line. As subsidiaries of multinationals, they can afford to wait out strikes and demand "givebacks" (taking away gains won in previous contracts). Also, it is far more difficult for American labor to pressure corporations effectively when they are headquartered in Japan or West Germany.



Clerks, Meatcutters form one big union

an or West Germany.

Abe Feinglass, a vice-president of the AMC, also stressed that technological changes in the meatpacking industry, begun in the early 1960s by Iowa Beef, which introduced assembly line techniques, have downgraded jobs, lowered the wage rate and driven the older, higher-paying companies out of the market. He added that the UFCW creates a new form of industrial union, where workers on the production side of the food industry, like those in the meat packing houses, are integrated with those on the distribution, retail side.

The merger will also enable the new union to take the offensive in organizing drives (the new president, William Wynn, stated a goal of two million members over the next decade), and on the legislative front, where it will be able to press more effectively for labor law reform.

While the first resolution calling for a merger dates to 1971, serious talks began 18 months ago, and the final agreement was reached last January. Since the scheme was pushed by the leadership, approval by delegates was certain. In the new organization, top officers from both unions will hold posts on the five-member executive committee, while all international officers will be on an expanded, single board.

Local unions will stay autonomous for ten years, unless they choose to merge before that; and wages, benefits, pensions and the like, determined by existing contracts, will be unchanged.

Since the RCIU was the larger of the two—having 735,000 members to the AMC's 525,000—the top post went to Wynn. And while the AMC is not submerged by the other, it seems clear that the larger, with its numerical advantage on the executive committee and board,

and with the president, will have a larger voice in shaping policy.

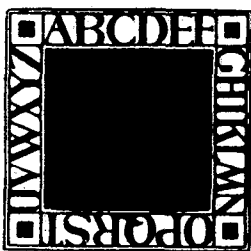
The merger will not be problem free. Differences in membership and views may pose some obstacles, thought not insurmountable. The AMC are largely blue collar, more skilled and higher paid than the Clerks, who are white collar, with many part-time members (for example students and moonlighters from other jobs) and 48 percent female (who are historically harder to organize).

Under the long leadership of Pat Gorman, the AMC was a progressive union and, with a 25 percent black membership, was deeply involved in the civil rights movement; it created a special civil rights division and 2,200 members marched with King in Selma in the early '60s. The union took strong positions supporting Julius and Ethel Rosenberg, was an early opponent of the Vietnam war and voiced public outrage over the oppression of unionists in Chile in 1975. In 1955, over Meany's opposition, it merged with the Fur and Leather Workers, which was ousted from the CIO for supposed Communist activities. Just recently, AMC's Feinglass joined with others, like William Winpisinger (head of the International Association of Machinists) in a full-page *New York Times* ad, calling for an alternative to President Carter for 1980.

The Clerks, on the other hand, are more conservative and businesslike—Wynn describes himself "not as a liberal, but a moderate," and heads up a committee created to muster labor support for Carter. The union took the Meany line in the 1960s, supporting the Vietnam war, and has put most of its thrust to organizing, rather than involvement in other issues.

As one AMC officer notes, "The Clerks have always been more conservative; for example, some of their vice-presidents worked with the CIA. But they have done an effective job of organizing, and their president (Wynn) is bright, young and open. Also, the RCIU has some militant locals, like in California." He adds that the Meatcutters will infuse the new union with their commitment to struggle and progressive traditions.

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A-002

WORKERS EDUCATION

Unions are slipping, activists are told

By Pat Strandt

BECKLEY, W. VA.

TWENTY PERCENT OF THE COAL miners in the United Mine Workers District 17, which includes West Virginia, were on layoff last month. Their problems, some of organizing workers organizing in J.P. Stevens' Carolina textile mills, Detroit's loss of 20 percent of its industrial jobs in the last ten years, the 100,000 jobs lost in Ohio since 1970, and workers' protesting layoffs were all tied together during a Industrial Day educational workshop of 112 members of Workers Education Local 139 at the Mine Safety and Health Training Academy in Beckley.

The local is a small independent union of teaching unions (see *IT*, Nov. 29, 1978). John J. Lewis' words were recalled for the group by Regina Canuso, a young AFL-CIO headquarters staffer, who said Lewis anticipated that "we would see the real effects of Taft-Hartley" in 20 or 30 years, and that the act would "put labor in a position where it will be ineffective."

Those whom Canuso and others were talking to were, for the most part, either not yet on the scene or young children when Taft-Hartley passed Congress. All of them, involved in a broad way with "workers education," are unwilling to write off the labor movement, and instead are forming a national network to help strengthen unionists in their endeavors.

Canuso, who said she "came out of the women's movement" into labor because she wanted to organize women, is currently a staffer in the AFL-CIO's Food and Beverage Trades Department. She and Rita Valenti, organizer and staff representative of the Citizens Clearinghouse Against Right to Work in New Mexico, told of the need to repeal Section 14(b) of Taft-Hartley, which gives states the right to outlaw the union shop under the false name of "right to work."

With the Wagner Act—the National Labor Relations Act—in 1935, labor won the ability to organize under government protection. "But the Wagner Act is no longer operative," Canuso said. "The right of labor to effectively organize and represent its membership is on trial. It's not only on trial in the 20 states that have 'right to work' laws, but it is on trial in every single state in the U.S."

"Even though 'right to work' has not succeeded in many of the northern and midwestern states in the last few years, unions there are not getting the kinds of contracts they've been used to. Those workers are constantly threatened that if they do not accept what the companies want them to accept the companies will move to the South," Canuso added.

Multinational corporations are no longer looking to Taiwan or other countries in Asia and Africa for cheap labor, Canuso said. "They are beginning to build their factories in the southern U.S., which is considered one of the most politically stable areas, with some of the cheapest labor, and one of the most easily manipulated labor forces in the entire world."

Labor struggles to organize the shipyard workers in Newport News, Va., where the state's "right to work" atmosphere made it easy for local and state police to rough up strikers; the difficulty of J.P. Stevens workers in the Carolinas and elsewhere to get federal labor law enforced and bargain with their employer; and the determination of the South's main foodstore chain, Winn-Dixie, to remain nonunion were cited as prime examples.

"I found that organizing women is impossible unless you organize them at their workplaces," Canuso told the group. "And I think there is a correlation between the attempt to get the ERA passed, another struggle that is failing by the wayside, and the 'right to work' issue."

"Out of the 15 states that have not rati-

Years ago union miners dug 82 percent of our coal. Now it's 48 percent.

fied ERA, 12 of them are 'right to work' states. What this means for women in those states is that their wages are lower, they do not have the right to organize as other workers do, they do not have the right to a strong union that has the money, the power, the influence, and the membership to represent them properly." She pointed out that the same corporation-backed organizations that are pushing "right to work" are also fighting the Equal Rights Amendment.

Like other speakers during the weekend, she contrasted the fact that in years past, 82 percent of the coal mined in the U.S. was union-mined coal, while only about 48 percent is now union coal. Many of West Virginia's mines are closed down and workers laid off because cheaper coal is coming from the West, which has such "right to work" states as Wyoming, Utah, Texas, Nevada, and the Dakotas.

"Unions are winning less than half the elections" they are involved in, said Rita Valenti. "Two out of every five workers in 1958 carried union cards, and today,



David (Blue) Lamm, Local 750, United Mine Workers, former editor of *COAL FIELD DEFENDER*, and Suzanne Maffei, of the *Tennessee Learning Center*, Nashville.

it's only one out of three. We have the situation of runaway shops in textile, chemical, footwear, auto, coal, and other industries," she said.

Valenti emphasized that, in her opinion, repeal of 14(b) "is the key issue that faces the labor movement today."

"As long as there are sections of the labor movement that are subject to economic and political inequality throughout the country, the threat to drive the rest of the trade-union movement down to that level is a threat that the trade-union movement faces today," she said.

Workers Education Local 139's bi-annual meeting in Beckley drew a wide range of labor leaders and activists, including Joseph Powell, president of the West Virginia AFL-CIO; Roosevelt Robinson, one of the principal organizers of the Steelworkers at Newport News; Ermalee Boice, head of the West Virginia Education Association, and local and district leaders in a variety of unions.

Researchers, historians and college labor-education and economics teachers from Massachusetts to Southern California were also on hand.

SOUTH

Protesters stop Klan attacks

By Jeff Elliott

DECATUR, ALA.

FREE TOMMY LEE HINES" were the words of the day in this small Alabama town on June 9 as more than 1,500 demonstrators, mostly young and black, marched and rallied to protest the conviction of the severely mentally-retarded black man for the alleged rape of a white woman. The action was organized by the Southern Christian Leadership Conference (SCLC).

The demonstration, which proceeded without incident, took place in the context of growing numbers of Ku Klux Klan attacks on blacks in Decatur. On May 26, an armed attack by the Klan succeeded in disrupting an SCLC march commemorating Hines' arrest on that date in 1978.

In response to that attack, which left two blacks and two Klansmen wounded, the SCLC called the June 9 action. At a news conference announcing the march, SCLC Alabama field secretary Rev. R.B. Cottonreader said, "We will keep marching until those who shot some of us down and who tried to shoot all of us down on May 26 are brought to justice." Cottonreader urged supporters of civil rights from around the country to converge on Decatur June 9 and repudiate the Klan's terrorism.

Within days after the SCLC's call was issued, organizations including the Congressional Black Caucus, the United League of Northern Mississippi, the Alabama NAACP, and the Alabama Christian Movement for Human Rights endorsed the protest.

That the action had broad support became clear on June 9. As the noon hour, when the march was scheduled to begin, approached, the streets of Decatur's small black community became jammed with buses, vans and cars loaded with protesters. The marchers came from New

Orleans, Atlanta, Birmingham, Memphis, Jackson, and other Southern cities and towns. There were 21 people from New York and 24 from Los Angeles.

As the marchers approached the corner of Robert E. Lee and Jefferson Davis streets—the site of the May 26 attack—they were met by the sight of about 150 KKK members wearing robes and hoods and another 150 Klan supporters. The Klan, which had sponsored its own march and rally two hours before, had announced in the wake of their May 26 attack that they would not allow blacks or their supporters to march in Decatur again.

But the few hundred Klansmen found it difficult to make good on their promise. Not only were they greatly outnumbered by the SCLC marchers, but they were also separated from them by more than 500 heavily armed state troopers, National Guardsmen, and local police—there primarily as the result of an all-out campaign for police protection launched by the SCLC after the May 26 attack. In the week leading up to the march, Alabama Gov. Fob James had been pressured to proclaim that the state would not allow the Klan to attack and would stop Klan violence with force.

Nonetheless, as the marchers filed in front of the troops and past the Klansmen they were greeted with jeers, epithets, and other provocations—to which they responded with chants of "Hell no, We Won't Go, The KKK Has Got to Go!" and "Free Tommy Lee." Klan members, outgunned by police and civil rights supporters, were nonplussed. After the verbal confrontation the march proceeded without incident.

As the march converged on Decatur City Hall, Alabama SCLC president Rev. John Nettles opened the rally by saying that the march had been a big success. Nettles said that June 9 might begin a process that would "transplant a new heart into the Heart of Dixie."

Representative Mickey Leland of Texas spoke for the Congressional Black Caucus. "Our message to this march today is that the American people who are with us must continue marching until racism is overcome in this country," he said.

Anne Braden, a leader of the Southern Organizing Committee and a long-time civil rights activist, also spoke. Explaining that rape charges and frame-ups were a classical method of terrorizing and intimidating blacks, she said, "Some white women, though, figured out that this was used to keep them down as well as blacks. We will not be used as an excuse to oppress black people."

Rev. Joseph Lowery, national president of SCLC, the keynote speaker, pointed to the city hall behind him and said, "This city took a black man with a child's mind and charged him with a man's crime. They read him rights he couldn't understand. They made him sign a confession he couldn't comprehend. They took Tommy Lee Hines and put him in a jail cell for 30 years. To hell with you, Decatur! You have the blood of Tommy Lee Hines on your hands."

The SCLC leader went on to explain the necessity of stopping the Klan's terrorism, pointing out that their current resurgence was occurring within the framework of broader resurgence of the right as a whole and the government's "Bakke-Weber mentality." His remarks drew enthusiastic rounds of applause from the audience.

Rev. Lowery closed the rally by saying that it and the march were "just the beginning of a new civil rights movement down here"—a sentiment that was apparently shared by the overwhelming majority of protesters. Perhaps Charles Wright, a black high school student from Birmingham, expressed this feeling best in a conversation after the rally: "You know," he said, "we are fired up. And we won't take it no more."

LEFT REVIVAL



Michael Harrington, chair of the Democratic Socialist Organizing Committee, addressing the Long Island Progressive Coalition.

Unions, left groups coalesce to oppose corporate power

By Joseph M. Schwartz

MELVILLE, N. Y.

WILLIAM WINPISINGER, president of the International Association of Machinists (IAM) and Michael Harrington, chair of the Democratic Socialist Organizing Committee (DSOC) addressed more than 600 trade unionists and community activists at the founding meeting of the Long Island Progressive Coalition held in the Machinists' lodge auditorium.

The coalition, initiated by the Long Island locals of the IAM and DSOC, in-

cludes more than 25 organizations, and aims to organize grassroots political activity in support of "full employment, national health security, control of inflation, 'an end to the energy rip-off,' enactment of the Equal Rights Amendment, and 'meaningful civil rights'." The coalition includes, in addition to the IAM and DSOC, locals of the United Automobile Workers, the New American Movement, reform Democratic clubs, Long Island NOW and chapters of the anti-nuclear SHAD Alliance.

Winpisinger, who also serves as a vice-chair of DSOC, told the audience that in traveling across the country he has found "a groundswell of resentment against the

arbitrary and capricious behavior of corporate America." He urged leftists to unite to fight "the onslaught of the corporate state." He explained that "the corporate state means government and the political economy owned and controlled by a few powerful corporations—corporations that have no sense of moral or ethical duty to the nation... What the Lord giveth, corporate America stealeth away."

Winpisinger focused his attack on the Business Roundtable, an organization composed of the chief executives of 140 major American corporations, which has engaged in extensive lobbying against labor, consumer groups and environmentalists. "Sum it all up and the Business Roundtable's agenda is a subversive and secret plot to overthrow our democratic federal system of government—or what's left of it—and seize control of our political economy," Winpisinger said to enthusiastic applause.

Winpisinger stressed the need for grassroots coalitions of trade unions, environmental, civil rights, anti-nuclear and women's groups to fight for a democratization of American political and economic life. He urged the coalition to press Congress to keep the lid on energy prices and to develop equitable local energy pricing strategies and policies. Pronouncing nuclear power as "dead," he called for the municipalization of private utilities and the formation of a "publicly owned oil and gas system from wellhead to gas pump to compete with the seven sisters and measure their true costs, efficiency and profits."

Harrington highlighted the structural nature of the current crisis in the American political economy. He contended that "it is a generation of governmental subordination to corporate priorities in the oil industry that has created the energy shortage; it is the antiquated, unjust and incredibly expensive private health system that feeds medical inflation; it is the federal policy of subsidizing agribusiness and thereby driving up consumer food prices that torments the shopper at the supermarket."

While declaring himself to be an "open and proud democratic socialist," Harrington urged both liberals and radicals to fight against corporate power. He termed it "obscene" that, in the privacy of the boardroom, corporate managers can decide to "get up and move [their plants], thereby leaving entire communities in chaos."

Harrington contended that it was false to assume that the nation is moving to the right. Rather, he argued, "it is drifting left, right and center at the same time... with the real problem being that the right has been framing the political debate." He commended the growing formation of local progressive, anti-corporate coalitions because "if we all go our own separate ways, we will all lose." He stressed that progressives must bring people together, "while freely and openly airing our areas of disagreements."

Harrington pointed to the need for the democratic left's participation in the anti-nuclear movement to ensure that it develops into a pro-full employment, multi-class, multi-racial movement. Arguing that "the long run is now," Harrington concluded that we can only solve our immediate problems in healthcare, energy and housing by "democratizing corporate power."

Sylvia Aaron, chair of the Coalition, professor of social work at Adelphi University and a vice-president of the American Association of University Professors, told the crowd that "this movement, and it is a movement, began as a vigorous response to continuing unemployment on Long Island, inflation and the energy ripoff."

The coalition has yet to decide strategy for grassroots activity nor has it decided on immediate priorities. Many long-time Long Island activists, however, point to the size of the meeting and the crowd of 15,000 at the Shoreham anti-nuclear demonstration as concrete evidence of a resurgence in political activism. As Barbara Ehrenreich, an activist in NAM and editor of *Seven Days*, put it after the meeting, "We didn't even know all these people were still around."

Irish workers protest

Continued from page 11.

urban working class from price rises enjoyed by farmers after the Common Market entry in 1973. Trade unions—battered by a doubling of prices from 1973 to 1977—were exhorted to be frugal in order to facilitate the government's most popular goal, full employment by 1983 in a nation that has never known it.

From 1901 to 1961, the Irish popula-

tion declined from 3,221,000 to 2,814,000 as an estimated 1,555,000 emigrated while GNP lurched along at 1 percent per annum. Then Fianna Fail launched the economy on an export-led development path, luring foreign investors with assorted grants and a 15-year tax holiday on exports. (U.S. multinationals record their highest profit rates in the world in the Republic.) Succinctly expressing the mul-

tinational's impact, the Irish GNP grew by more than 90 percent since 1961 while absolute employment nudged up .5 percent. New jobs were outdistanced by the rural labor outflow and by the decimation of native industrial employment by EEC competition. Officially, unemployment, which averaged 6.5 percent over 1960-72, doubled in the recession and hovered at 10 percent by the last election. Bypassing a sturdy state productive sector with expansive potential, Fianna Fail placed all bets on private enterprise.

Despite the engineering of an immense and unrepeatable consumer spending spree, the most generous estimates are that the private sector replied with a paltry 7,000 jobs (out of 25,000 per year needed). Unsobered and undismayed, government ministers did not so much as wag a finger at private industry while threatening a statutory pay policy for workers sporting the lowest wages in the EEC as well as cutbacks in social spending which was likewise the least lavish in

the EEC. Not astonishingly, the Republic suffered through an upsurge of what the more affluent groups term "British madness." Strikes have hit electricity, water supply, urban transport, building materials, and—for more than three months in the most damaging and bitter struggle—postal services, with the government determined to make an "example" of the postal workers.

In 1969, the Irish Labour party proclaimed with rare confidence and the wildest inaccuracy that "the '70s will be socialist." The '80s may not be socialist either, but a faltering of Fianna Fail's devout capitalism will provide unparalleled opportunities. A critical determinant here is that the Republic can no longer export discontent. Emigration is a trickle due to high unemployment in the EEC as a whole. The last two periods when emigration routes choked off were marked by the rise to power of the populist incarnation of Fianna Fail in the early '30s, and by the Anglo-Irish War of 1919-21.

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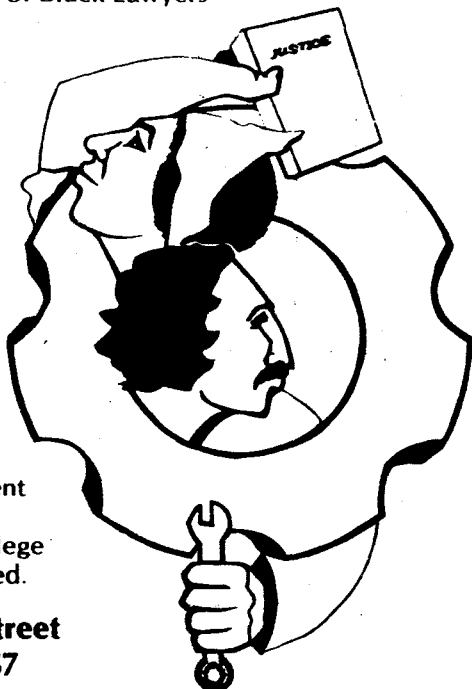
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MX missile

Continued from page 5.

delay on the MX until a viable basing mode could be found, was also defeated, by a margin of 100-291. The debate on Bedell's amendment highlighted the continuing uncertainty over deployment of the system, (the Pentagon has changed its plan four times in the last year) and the enormous land requirements for MX (up to several thousand square miles).

Although the hawks have the upper hand at present, the MX may ultimately be defeated. The strongest opposition has surfaced in the western states being considered as reluctant hosts for the missile. When the Air Force last year suggested the use of prime farm land in Nebraska, Iowa and Kansas, farmers, small town

mayors and local citizens raised such a fury of protest that the Pentagon beat a hasty retreat. The present scheme—railroad trenches on government land in the Southwest—is a clear attempt to avoid further confrontation. Local citizens are rising to the challenge, however, with Stop MX groups already active in Tucson, Albuquerque and southern Nevada.

On the national level, SANE, the Coalition, and other peace organizations have targeted MX for major organizing efforts. Environmentalists are also becoming concerned, as they learn of the devastation MX trenches would wreak on the fragile ecology of the Southwest desert. The Sierra Club, the Wilderness Society and other major environmental groups will soon announce public opposition to the MX. The National Taxpayers Union, which played a key role in downing the B-1 bomber, may also swing its considerable resources and prestige into the fray over MX.

By Dede Feldman

ALBUQUERQUE, N.M.

IF NO ACTION IS TAKEN ON THE Waste Isolation Pilot Project (WIPP) site, the nuclear power industry would be removed as a viable industry," David Perkins, vice president of Nuclear Energy Services Corporation, a nuclear consulting firm, told Department of Energy officers at hearings held in Albuquerque June 7-8. "But we would still have a nuclear waste problem," he added. Perkins said that the waste problem is not going to go away by "burying our heads in the sand" and that it was "irresponsible to procrastinate."

Perkins and other proponents of the WIPP site in Carlsbad, N.M., including representatives of El Paso Gas and Electric, General Electric, Americans for Rational Energy Alternatives, the Atomic Industrial Forum, confronted opponents of WIPP at the emotion-packed two-day hearings.

"The Department of Energy and its impact statement is a study in consistency: consistent inadequacy, consistent misrepresentation, consistent self-serving project justifications, and consistent attempts to impede citizen participation in public policy issues," Sally Rodgers, from Friends of the Earth, said of the DOE's plan to bury radioactive waste in the salt beds of New Mexico. And she was not alone.

Supporters of WIPP were frustrated by the "never ending studies" and the "erosion of public confidence" in the government's ability to solve the waste problem; WIPP critics were outraged by the DOE's restrictions on public participation in the hearings and the short time given to New Mexicans and others to evaluate and comment on the 1000-page Draft Environmental Impact Statement on WIPP.

If constructed, WIPP will be the nation's first repository for plutonium contaminated wastes (transuramics) from the nation's weapons program and the scene of a demonstration project for the disposal of 1,000 spent fuel assemblies from commercial reactors.



Dede Feldman

RADIOACTIVE WASTE

DOE is pushing
New Mexico
plutonium dump

Its impact statement consistently
misrepresents environmentalists'
objections and ignores real dangers.

A demonstrator protests the proposed Waste Isolation Pilot Project, June 7, in Albuquerque.

The dual purpose of the WIPP has sparked debate in Congress and the New Mexico state legislature over whether the facility needs to be licensed by the Nuclear Regulatory Commission.

In May, the House Armed Services Committee voted to cut off funding for WIPP because it will include commercial, as well as defense wastes. The next week, however, the Senate Armed Services Committee gave the go-ahead to the project.

WIPP is key to nuclear future.

While critics and opponents of the project clash on many issues, both agree that WIPP—and the whole waste issue—is the key to the future of both nuclear power and nuclear weapons.

The Draft Environmental Impact Statement was released in late April with written comments invited by July 6 and hearings held in Idaho Falls (the source of most of the defense wastes to be transported to WIPP) and Albuquerque, June 6-8. Those wishing to speak were required to submit remarks to the DOE in advance. Originally, hearings were not scheduled for Carlsbad, the city closest to the WIPP site.

At the urging of the state of New Mexico and Texas, the comment period on the

statement was extended until Sept. 6, and hearings were added for Carlsbad.

Frustrated by the state legislature's recent rejection of a statewide referendum on WIPP, Gov. Bruce King's turnabout support of the repository, and now by what Terry Lash, from the Natural Resources Defense Council, called "the DOE's determination to deliberately short-change public participation," opponents of the project called a special citizens' hearing on the statement.

The special hearings, held in a room adjacent to the one used by the DOE attracted about 250; the formal hearings included about 350, with 85 percent at both hearings critical of the statement.

At the formal hearings, a trio of medical doctors criticized the document's failure to address the issue of radiation health effects and questioned the adequacy of evacuation plans in the state.

Dr. Kathleen Schneider, from Physicians for Social Responsibility, said exposure figures in the document were misleading and a transportation accident in an urban area could distribute more than 110 million cases of lung cancer to the affected population.

Dr. Anthony Braus, an intern at the Bernalillo County Medical Center, said

that not one medical doctor was referenced in the document, though it concluded, "the project produces no significant radiation health impact."

Special trains necessary.

"Only information favorable to justification of WIPP and information which ignores or underestimates hazards is offered in the Statement," Sally Rodgers contended. She said that the statement's section on transportation was particularly misleading. The section implied that the use of special trains to transport waste to WIPP was unnecessary. The American Association of Railroads, however, has repeatedly called for tougher nuclear shipment regulations including the use of special trains.

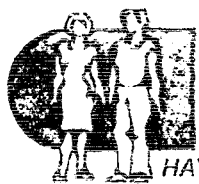
Other problems raised at the hearings, but not, critics said, dealt with in the statement, include:

- the ongoing deep dissolution of salt characteristic of the WIPP site;
- the presence of breccia pipes, or collapsed chimneys within the salt that present potential pathways for escape of the waste;
- the presence of pockets of brine and hydrogen sulfide gas within the site. Exploratory drilling unexpectedly hit one of these pockets, exploding drilling equipment and forcing relocation of the site six miles southwest;
- the presence of potash and natural gas reserves near the site that will leave open the possibility of later day drilling into the site;

•the presence of a major underground fault directly through the 2,000-acre underground storage area.

"The site is plagued by problems, unknowns and uncertainties," concluded Dr. Peter Montague, from the Southwest Research and Information Center. Montague, who has been studying the problem for about five years, recommended waiting a few years until more alternatives, such as deposit in basalt in the state of Washington or salt domes in Georgia become available for comparison.

But under heavy pressure from both the nuclear industry and the arms producers to demonstrate the feasibility of nuclear waste disposal, however, the DOE is reluctant to slow down.



SOCIAL STRATIFICATION IN THE U.S.

"CLASS STRUGGLE IS THE NAME OF THE GAME, BUT YOU HAVE TO KNOW THE PLAYERS TO UNDERSTAND THE GAME AND THE REALITY THAT IT REFLECTS. THIS POSTER IS THE SIMPLEST AND CLEVEREST MEANS TO HELP EXPLAIN THE CLASS STRUCTURE IN THE U.S. TODAY. A MUST FOR ANY RADICAL TEACHER..."

— Bertell Ollman, Marxist scholar and inventor of the "Class Struggle" game

The Social Stratification poster is a graphic presentation of the U.S. population by income, occupation, family status, race and wealth. Much of this information is talked about in the media and classrooms. However, the series of numbers, percentages and median figures that are cited are confusing and near impossible to relate to one another. Our purpose is to overcome this comprehension problem by combining the data into a clear graphic format.

Making this information accessible is an important political project. The concept of "America as a middle class society" is widely used and politically charged. It conveys the image of a vast clump in the middle with few at the extremes of great wealth or poverty. Overcoming this illusion and making people confront differing social conditions and status is a crucial first step toward political awareness.

But there is another need for making this information accessible — the contemporary U.S. left has operated without a developed class analysis. Phrases such as "the industrial working class", "aristocracy of labor", and "new working class" have appeared and contended with one another without a clear presentation of the facts involved. One cause for this confusion has been the isolation of the left from the real conditions and concerns of most Americans. Hopefully, this poster will stimulate both further investigation and more focused political activity.

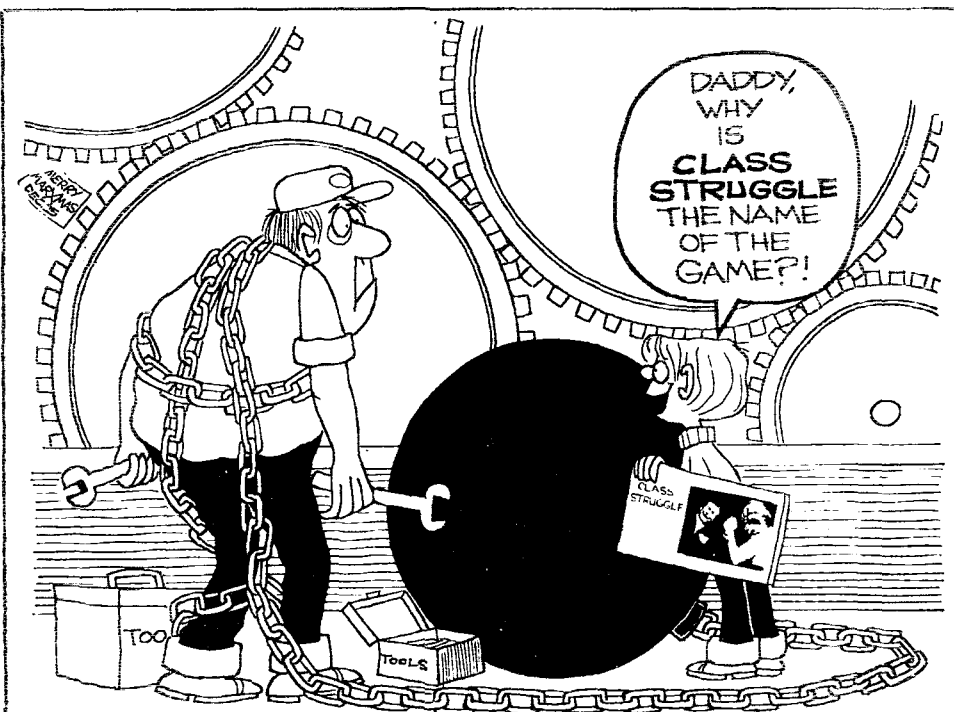
"THERE IS A CRIPPLING LACK OF INFORMATION NOT ONLY IN THE PUBLIC AT LARGE BUT AMONG STUDENTS OF ECONOMICS WITH REGARD TO SOME OF THE BASIC FACTS OF THE AMERICAN SOCIO-ECONOMIC SYSTEM. THIS ATTRACTIVE POSTER GOES A LONG WAY TOWARD REMEDYING THAT DEFICIENCY. I AM HAPPY TO RECOMMEND IT WHOLEHEARTEDLY AS A TEACHING ADJUNCT."

— Robert Heilbroner

The poster measures 35" x 45" and uses eight colors to represent occupation and labor force status. Different figures are used to portray husband/wife couples, single people, and single heads of household. Household figures show what each member does and are placed on the poster according to their 1978 annual income. An accompanying 40-page booklet gives the detailed methodological and statistical information.

The price is \$5.00 for the poster, and \$2.00 for the booklet; (each order should include \$1.00 for postage and handling). Bulk and institutional rates are available for classroom use, and the poster is also available as a mounted full-color transparency for overhead projectors. (The poster is very useful at the high school and introductory college levels.)

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IN THE WORLD

EUROPARLIAMENT VOTE



Socialist leaders meet in Paris in May to plot a strategy for the Europarlimentary elections. West German Social-Democrat Willy Brandt is fifth from the left; French Socialist Francois Mitterrand is fourth from the right; and Italian Socialist Benedetto Craxi is on the far right.

Eurosocialists fail to win a majority

By Diana Johnstone

PARIS

THE EUROSOCIALIST BUBBLE burst with the June 10 European parliamentary elections. Europe's Socialist and Social Democratic parties raised their hopes high in a rather grandiose and artificial campaign for the first direct election of Europarlimentarians by voters in the nine member countries of the European Economic Community (EEC). With red roses clutched bravely in their fists, Willy Brandt, Francois Mitterrand and their friends sang the "Internationale" together in Paris and tried to drum up enthusiasm for a future "Europe of working people." The crowds failed to turn out or on, and when the June 10 vote was counted, the Europe of the EEC was overwhelmingly conservative and decidedly capitalist.

In the old Europarliment, whose members were appointed by their national parliaments, the Socialist caucus held one-third of the seats. Instead of advancing as expected, they fell back to about one-fourth, with 112 out of the 410 seats. But the Eurocommunist caucus held its own with 44 seats.

The main cause of the Socialist debacle seems to be that many workers in northern Europe expressed their distrust of the EEC by abstaining. With few issues raised, the elections had the look of a plebiscite "for Europe." What difference does it really make to elect the Europarliment directly, which meets now and then in Strasbourg or Luxembourg to approve the highly technical budget prepared by the "Eurocrats" of the Commission, the Brussels-based EEC executive? Will the Europarliment gain power away from the council of ministers, which under the Rome treaties is the real decision-making body of the Common Market? And if so, then what? All that was clear was that direct election was aimed at giving the EEC more authority by making it appear more democratic. And that authority can

be used by member governments to impose unpopular economic policies on their recalcitrant populations. Internationalism may be a noble ideal of the working class but it is a practical reality of the business community.

The worst blow to the Eurosocalist caucus was the resounding defeat of the British Labour Party, which won only 17 of the 81 seats given each of the four biggest EEC countries. Only a third of British voters bothered to go to the polls. The record low turnout proved what everyone already knew: that Britain's heart is not in Europe. Seen from the continent, the British seem to be in the EEC mainly to grumble that they are victimized by its farm price support policy and to block any measures that might go against American interests.

Continental socialists blamed the British Labour Party's anti-EEC stance for persuading Labour voters to stay home and give the Conservatives a landslide victory. French Socialist Commission member Claude Cheysson commented that "the English now seem to be making a specialty of missing the boat" and angrily blamed the Labour Party for "finding nothing better to do than choose some of the least-known politicians as their candidates."

But the rudest shock to the European left was the poor showing of the West German Social Democratic Party (SPD), which got only 40.8 percent of the vote compared to 49.2 percent for the combined lists of the Christian Democrats (CDU) and Franz Josef Strauss' even more right-wing Bavarian Christian Social Union (CSU). Winning CDU-CSU lists included some of the most openly rightist candidates to emerge in Germany since the war, such as Otto Von Hapsburg, an unabashed reactionary descendant of the old royal family, and Hans Edgard Jahn, who wrote pamphlets against "Judeo-Bolshevik Imperialism" back in his Nazi days.

Germany is clearly the major power in the EEC. Socialists set out eagerly to

build a unity dominated by Germany, perhaps, but the Germany of Helmut Schmidt and Socialist International leader Willy Brandt. Instead, they could be getting the Germany of Strauss.

"Europe yes, Socialism no" was the winning CDU slogan. Perhaps some German workers, faced with that choice, voted no for Europe by staying home. Voter turnout was low in German working class districts.

In France, Marchais concentrated his attacks on EEC economic policy, which he accused of favoring multinational corporations and promoting massive unemployment in member countries. Critics who accused Marchais of nationalism tended to stick to vague generalities and discuss issues less than he did. And there is a side of the popular French character that gets a kick out of the impertinent style Marchais has perfected in television debates—like the nifty kid who sits in the back row and drives the teacher crazy with impossible questions and rude answers.

Neo-Gaullist Jacques Chirac and Mitterrand had a hard time marking off their own terrain. Chirac, both supporting and opposing Giscard's government, came out looking opportunistic and hypocritical and the mere 16 percent scored by his list probably spells the end of his presidential ambitions. The Socialist score of 23.5 percent was also bad news for Mitterrand. French ecologists just missed getting the 5 percent that would have given them a seat and the Trotskyist ticket headed by Arlette Laguiller and Alain Krivine got over 3 percent of the vote by campaigning for utopia—"A United States of Socialist Europe."

Stressing that French Communists were "encouraged" by their 20.5 percent of the vote, Marchais immediately began talking of reviving the union of the left. "We have begun to reduce the gap that separated us from the Socialist party," he said. The real object of this most "European" campaign was domestic politics—each party wanted to show strength in

preparation for the 1981 presidential election.

Although surrounded by enticing beaches on a hot summer day, Italians won first prize in European citizenship by a top voter turnout of nearly 86 percent (compared to 65 percent in Germany and 60 percent in France). With their habitual self-depreciation, Italians explained this zeal by their sense of being the "poor relation." The high turnout meant that the Italian contingent in the Europarliment will reflect approximately the same political landscape revealed by the national parliamentary elections just one week earlier. The overall strength of the left remained the same, with the Socialists picking up a point lost by the Communists.

Unlike the other big countries, Italy's proportional representation allows small minorities to win seats. Thus Italy will send not only the largest Communist contingent (24 seats) but also five representatives of the far left: Luciana Castellina of PDUP, former student leader Mario Capanna (Proletarian Democracy-New Left) and three prestigious Radicals: novelist Leonardo Sciascia, ex-Communist journalist Maria Antonietta Macciocchi and Marco Pannella (unless they step aside for other names farther down their lists). The Socialist contingent includes a number of prominent cultural figures, perhaps the most intriguing being dissident Czech Communist Jiri Pelikan, who has acquired Italian citizenship since going into exile after Soviet suppression of the "Prague Spring."

What are all those interesting Italians going to do in that boring European Parliament? Who will know or care? "Italy has something to offer Europe," Radical candidates said during the campaign, "its political vitality, its active minorities." The Europarliment is only a forum, say the Radicals, but they mean to use it to sound the alarm against any sign of the growth of a police-state Europe promoted by the German right—a danger perceived by many leftists in Latin countries as Brandt fades and Strauss looms. ■

IRELAND

Business booms for the Falls Taxis

By Dennis O'Hearn

BELFAST, N. IRELAND

BELFAST IS A DYING CITY WITH the highest unemployment in Europe. This is especially true of West Belfast and other mainly Catholic districts. Yet there is one notable success story in the city. Though government planners would not admit it, the Falls Taxi Association (FTA) may be the number one economic asset in an area plagued by massive unemployment.

The FTA started in August 1971, when a policeman was shot in the Protestant Shankill district. As a form of protest, all bus services were withdrawn from the working class areas of Belfast. The buses returned after a day to the Shankill, but were absent from Catholic Falls Road for three months (Belfast has one of the only privately owned mass transit systems in Europe). To the housewife in the Andersonstown district of the Falls, this was a severe blow, for no shops existed there and it was a four-mile walk to the city center.

The first reaction came from a local man with a good eye for profit. A fleet of 15 to 20 private cars ran a regular route through the Falls to three housing estates on the outskirts of West Belfast. In 1972 Sonny Reilly began buying used black taxis in London and importing them to Belfast. The idea caught on and the black taxis, now formed into their own association, presently number about 350. The association provides full-time employment for about 700 people in West Belfast, including more than 500 full- or part-time drivers. No government subsidized and promoted private firm can claim anything close to this kind of success. "Every day at least one new person starts work for us," claims Peter Donnelly, of the FTA's management committee.

Organization of the FTA.

The FTA was organized in 1973, when eight drivers were elected to form a managing committee. The committee oversees strategic and entrepreneurial decisions, such as the recent decision to expand into car hire and limousines. A six-man subcommittee is concerned with day-to-day management affairs. This committee disciplines drivers following public complaints and oversees the work of the FTA garage. For FTA's services each driver pays a weekly fee of \$10. A quarter of this goes to "Green Cross," registered charity that supports families of Republican prisoners. For the remaining amount the driver receives a guarantee of another vehicle if his breaks down, cut-rate prices on tires and parts, interest-free loans for parts and the driver's original taxi, free legal services, and the services of an accountant.

In 1976 there was a shakeup in the FTA due to mismanagement of funds by some committee members. To tighten controls, the Provisional IRA was called in by the drivers. Under their supervision a new six-man committee was set up, including one member whose sole function is "to keep an eye on the other members." Since that time the committee has had a clean record.

To understand the role of the IRA in the Taxi Association, one needs to know a little about the administration of the IRA itself. It is divided into three sections: the military, a civil police force, and "civil administration." The latter group is involved in community affairs, especially in promoting self-help on the part of the people of Catholic ghettos. Thus, the IRA is intimately involved in housing associations, co-ops, community centers, and the like. The taxi association is a "self-help" project.

Though only a few FTA committee

The drivers are mostly former Long Kesh internees.

members are members of the IRA, the IRA has the ultimate ability to control the taxis. This is because the drivers decided to restrict membership of the FTA almost solely to former Long Kesh internees. "The IRA doesn't usually exert its control, but if they wanted to they could take all of the FTA's profits. And most of the men would happily let them have it," IN THESE TIMES was told confidently by an association insider.

Harassment of the FTA.

The association of drivers has helped them to resist the government's efforts to drive the black taxis off the road. Initially, the British Army and the police harassed the taxi drivers by stopping them for hours on identity checks. When that didn't work, the government persuaded insurance companies to cancel black taxis' policies. Under government pressure, Clover Leaf Insurance (a subsidiary of the U.S. Century Group) pulled out of Northern Ireland altogether, in spite of a 1976 pre-tax profit of \$23.5 million. In August 1977 Clover Leaf sent letters to 250 taxi drivers, informing them that their policies were nonrenewable.

Faced with the prospect of being driven off the road, the six-man committee found a paragraph in the Road Transport Act that allowed them to buy the taxis in the name of the association, deposit \$30,000 with the government and be deemed fit to cover their autos in case of accident. "Just to stick it up their noses," says Donnelly, the FTA bought all of the black taxis for one pound each, with the drivers' option of repurchase at the same price.

The government has reacted by taking the FTA to court, but the taxis seem sure to win this one. For if they lose in the British court, they can now appeal to the European court, where they are sure to get a more sympathetic hearing. The decision on the case has now been withheld for two years, the longest withheld decision ever in the U.K.

Meanwhile, the FTA idea has spread throughout Belfast. The Shankill area is served by a similar organization, the North Belfast Mutual Taxi Association. Though they have strong connections with the Protestant paramilitaries, the Shankill taxis are also insured by the FTA. There are also mass-transport taxis serving strongly Republican areas outside of the Falls Road.

In Derry, a scheme by the Irish Republican Socialist Party to set up a Bogside Taxi Association was postponed after the arrest and conviction of five drivers for "doing the double" (drawing an income while on the dole). The arrest of the drivers followed the affiliation of 18 drivers with the IRSP, after having been with the Republican Clubs (formerly the Official IRA—now an establishment political party). The Derry IRA also has about ten cabs.

Along with similar organizations, FTA has created many jobs, especially for ex-internees who have trouble finding work. But in its expansion it has become more profit-oriented, and less democratic in nature. No elections of the managing committee have taken place in three years. The newer enterprises (limousines, private taxis, insurance) are organized very much along a traditional hierarchical basis.



With unemployment high and tax concessions to corporations and large farmers, Irish union members have reacted sharply to government policies.

Tax check-off stirs wide protests

By Jack Kurt Jacobsen

NO ONE IS GOING TO PUSH the government around by threatening strikes," announced George Colley, the Minister for Finance, in the stormy aftermath of the greatest demonstrations in the history of the Irish Republic last March 20.

Despite opposition by the two largest parties, the industrial spokesman for the small Irish Labour party, and executives of most trade unions, a one day strike brought 150,000 Pay-As-You-Earn workers into Dublin streets (40,000 more in the city of Cork) where they wound their way to the government building to submit a collective message demanding that the government reform the tax structure to "ease the intolerable burden on the working class" so that "all would pay their fair share."

On Monday, 50,000 workers on the PAYE system—income tax "checked off" directly from wage packets—again demonstrated their displeasure with the Fianna Fail government by taking to the Dublin streets. Whether or not the government is giving birth to a really "terrible beauty" may be determined by its reactions to the May 23 vote of the Irish Congress of Trade Unions on the National Wage Agreement. The Congress rejected the government's "national Understanding" by a vote of 318 to 119.

Upheavals have been a long time coming in the traditionally placid political climate of the Republic. The government will portray the tax dispute as an exclusively urban-rural conflict, but the issue can also strike deep at the "state-stimulated private enterprise" schemes of de-

velopment uniformly advocated by Irish governments over the last 20 years.

PAYE contributions to total income taxation had risen from 61.8 percent in 1969-70 to nearly 90 percent last year, while corporations, large farmers fattening from the Common Agricultural Program, and non-PAYE professionals forked out an incredibly shrinking share. Under severe rank-and-file pressure, the Irish Congress of Trade Unions had withdrawn from National Wage negotiations until substantial tax reforms was either enacted or assigned to the agenda.

While the immediate spark for the massive protests was the caving in of the government to the outright refusal of the large rancher-dominated farmers' organizations to pay a proposed 2 percent product levy late in February, rage had been welling up at a government that pushed the working class around with alacrity since replacing a recession-ridden Fine Gael-Labour party coalition in June 1977. (Ireland has been long afflicted by a Tory Party and another Tory-led coalition alternately forming governments.)

Fianna Fail's recent right-wing revelations might send a delightful shiver up Margaret Thatcher's iron spine—if she paid any attention to Irish affairs. To "get the country moving again," Fianna Fail abolished taxes on small vehicles, domestic dwellings, the puny wealth tax, reduced capital gains tax, and fueled a spending spree through borrowing at 13 percent of GNP. But for trade union pressure, the revenue lost in wealth taxation would have been offset exactly by a proposed tax on Children's Allowances, while the lost poverty revenue would have been offset by removing subsidies on milk, bread and butter that were introduced to protect the

Continued on page 8.



The gates to the National Congress are still padlocked.

Santiago: 1979

Six years after the coup, imported scotch sits in store windows, police guard the capital's office buildings, and signs of resistance re-emerge on the walls of the poor.

STORY AND PHOTOS BY
MARCELO MONTECINO



Photo: Luis Navarro

FROM THE FOOTHILLS OF THE ANDES TO THE HEART of the central valley runs a street that is a cross-section of Chile. Although it changes name several times, it is a continuous avenue that neatly bisects Santiago. The bus ride starts in the picturesque little town of El Arrayan. Relatively untouched by developers or speculators, it still retains its small-town atmosphere. In front of its small stores you can see hitched horses awaiting a shopper from some of the inaccessible settlements in the Andes. In the hills, the rich maintain discretely sheltered homes with landscaped lawns, spectacular pools, and separate housing for the servants. In this privileged hamlet, the lethargic Mapocho River continues its meandering trip west, still clean, its Andean water turquoise. On the weekends, to escape the sweltering afternoon heat of Santiago, those fortunate enough to have the bus fare picnic on the small beaches by the river.

The bus begins to gather people in the suburbs of metropolitan Santiago. Badly dressed women, laden with packages and children, crowd into the bus. The bus passes the Air Force Academy where the trials of constitutionalist officers were held and which served as an interrogation and detention center for many, including Orlando Letelier. Small shopping centers begin to appear. The traffic becomes fast and hectic. Young salesmen with band-aids and aspirins begin to hawk their wares on the bus, noisily reminding us that Chile's real unemployment rate is much higher than the official 15 percent.

In front of the Air Force Hospital, soldiers with submachineguns patrol the hospital and the surrounding neighborhood, composed mainly of middle-level officers. By now almost every little house

has a car parked in the driveway. We are in the "barrio alto." The houses are larger, some with huge walls with embedded broken glass. Trees reappear and on ivy covered walls you can perceive white-washed political slogans of five years ago that have begun to reappear. By now more shops have English and French names. In front yards, maids water the lawns.

We are suddenly in Providencia. Providencia is Chile's shopping center, watering spot for the not-so-young professionals, hangout for Americanized hippies, where the new rich can strut and flaunt their acquisitions, and, in short, the junta's only real success.

This is Chile's version of Fifth Avenue or rue St. Michel and the apparent goal of the imposed Chicago model of monetarist economics. The shops are full of imported goods. Specialty stores sell everything from truffles, imported toilet paper, tape recorders, to the newest craze of Chile's bourgeoisie, color television. This is the sharpest evidence of the "Taiwanization" of Chile, as critics call the free trade policies of the government.

But it is impossible to overlook the



heggars, the hawkers who sell crude home-made products that no one really needs, the shoe-shine boys, the people who sell the self censored newspapers. In the well-kept parks that surround Providencia, those lucky enough to qualify for the Minimum Employment Program care for the flowers and lawns of the rich for approximately \$30 a month, in a country where prices are comparable to those in the U.S.

In Providencia the rich and the new officer caste have their pleasure palaces. This is also the spawning ground for a "new architecture," where, according to the press, Chilean architects "invented" the "caracol." There's also a "Drug-store," a Johann Sebastian Bar, and an Eve Discotheque.

The bus continues, down Providencia Avenue, past Pedro de Valdivia—conqueror of Chile—and into a more traditional Chile: past the statue of President Balmaceda, first populist president of Chile and who was overthrown by the bourgeoisie after a civil war in 1892. We are now on the Alameda, Chile's best known street.

We pass the building constructed for the UNCTAD conference held in Santiago in 1971, renamed Gabriela Mistral by President Allende in honor of Chile's first Nobel laureate in poetry, and renamed Diego Portales by Pinochet, in the memory of a politician-businessman who shaped the early history of independent Chile and who has now become one of the junta's secular saints. The Diego Portales building is now Pinochet's bunker, after the bombing of the old presidential palace. During the Allende period, the building had been used as a conference center for students, labor and artists. Now the sidewalks are empty except for the heavy security. Inside, television cameras monitor every corridor.

A few meters across from the Diego Portales is Catholic University, now "intervened" by the military. This was a meeting place for demonstrations that would shake down the Alameda to the center of town for a speech by "el compañero presidente," or to celebrate May 1. Just in front of the University is Santa Lucía hill, where in the 16th century Spaniards fought off Indian attacks and which is now a park with the fading charm of the *bell époque*, a good place where those who

cannot afford a hotel go in the evenings to make love.

Further down the Alameda is the University of Chile, where in 1932 students protesting the Ibanez dictatorship unfurled a banner with the word "liberty" and sparked a rebellion that overthrew the government.

Downtown the streets are jammed with pedestrians and sidewalk vendors. From the bus we can see the Foreign Ministry side of La Moneda, the old presidential palace. In the public buildings surrounding the palace, the walls are still pockmarked with bullet holes. A new large statue for O'Higgins is being erected; Pinochet tries to identify himself with the liberator of Chile. This is Chile's bureaucratic, legal and financial center.

The buildings get older. There's been little change here. More stores sell automobile parts. People stare out of windows. You begin to perceive more "R's" of resistance hastily scribbled on the walls. The man who sharpens knives makes his rounds. This is the neighborhood of the old middle class families, now excluded from the economic miracle, and in whose name the coup was perpetrated. Five years later they still await the opportunity to move uptown or to make the down payment on a car.

Further down Alameda, past Republican Avenue, we have finally crossed the boundary into the reality of the majority of Chileans. The stores get smaller and shabbier. Stalls line the street. Near Estacion Central, where all the trains from the South arrive, the streets have cheap brothels where provincials can enjoy their first sad taste of the capital.

It has always been shabby here. These are the streets in which you live and love in a sheltered doorway, where food is retrieved from a garbage can and where the only illusion of wealth comes from the weekly lottery ticket. The street is full of small shops wishing to be larger, of clandestine bars where you can drink cheap adulterated wine, of old houses that never get warm and wall shrines for someone killed in the street. Here you buy the prints of saints and soccer stars if you have a room, the plastic sandals for your children and the inexpensive vegetables for your meals.

Here live the people who have no voice but who are feared.



EDITORIAL



PLEASE DON'T LOOK TO ME FOR LEADERSHIP AT A TIME LIKE THIS -- WHAT WE HAVE HERE IS THE MORAL EQUIVALENT OF EVERY MAN FOR HIMSELF!

These days they are all Nowhere Men

In 1976 the "outsider" James Earl Carter appeared to come from nowhere, first to capture the Democratic Party nomination, then the presidency, with an inexorability smacking of Manifest Destiny. His election seemed almost mystically ordained by the Higher Power.

It has taken less than three years in office for Carter to appear as unelectable come 1980 as he was ineluctable in 1976.

One of the paradoxes of the current political scene is that in the midst of the erosion of major party appeal, and in spite of all the talk of a conservative public mood, Carter's presidential performance has probably been the single most potent force in resuscitating the morale and cohesion of liberal Democrats in Congress and city halls and in bolstering their political initiative.

At Memphis last December, liberal and left Democrats delivered a sharp rebuke to the policies of their party's President. In Congress in the last month, liberal Democrats mobilized the party to reject Carter's oil decontrol, his plan for gasoline rationing, and his budget priorities. They are regrouping for resistance to his meager national health insurance plan, and have found some common ground in opposing his fiscal assault against aid to cities and his anti-wages, anti-jobs "inflation fighting." Urban Democrats, most notably Chicago Mayor Jane Byrne, have distanced themselves from his policies and his 1980 candidacy.

Across the spectrum of traditional and "new politics" constituencies, Democrats, former Democrats, independent liberals and leftists, are dreaming of going to the country united behind a Kennedy candidacy—in the Democratic Party.

The corporate President.

What accounts for Carter's precipitous fall from grace? The most intelligible explanations center on visible faults in his personality and on the undeniable tendencies toward the decline in traditional party loyalties. These explain much, but not nearly enough.

Other Presidents—like Cleveland (a Democrat) and Coolidge (a Republican)—have had less than passion-plate personalities without such speedy dismal consequences for their popularity. Conversely, Hoover's master "salesmanship" could

not save him from oblivion. The decline in party loyalties, on the other hand, would redound to the favor of an "outsider" president presenting himself as "above" narrow party interest. But Carter's popularity has not been helped by his party discoloration.

The explanation—or at least a crucial part of it—lies in the "nowhere" whence Carter came, the "Higher Power" that commands his faith.

Carter's "nowhere" was, and is, the Corporate Order, lying "outside" the discipline of the popular politics of party contention. It was precisely the decline in party authority among growing numbers of Americans that made possible his election as the first purely Corporate President. The presidency has been the citadel of corporate power since the early 20th century, but never before has a President and his Cabinet been so devoid of party complexion and so "free" of popular constituencies.

He is the president Corporate Utopians have been dreaming about since the Progressive Era—a real Nowhere Man—floating "above" democratic politics, "beyond ideology," and tied to the kite of corporate priorities. Not for nothing that his former speech-writer James Fallows calls him the passionless president: the consummate, colorless representative of centralized bureaucratic corporate power packaged as the opponent of centralized "populism," wrapped in a rhetorical "populism," and shelved on the majority party's ballot.

With Carter, there is not a *Republican* or a *Democratic* corporate presidency, but a corporate presidency, pure and simple. In the past, presidents tempered corporate priorities with due regard for non-corporate constituencies in both major parties. That was manageable so long as corporate expansion, both at home and globally, was consistent with gains for other sectors of the population in terms of income, jobs, and public services. Since the late 1960s, and increasingly in the 1970s, corporate expansion has become inconsistent with such gains. That is apparent on every hand—in the case of energy, inflation, national health, employment, taxation, social services, education, occupational and consumer safety, and environmental protection.

To enforce corporate priorities, the President must stand with pro-corporate members of Congress "above" party. This Carter has done. But in so doing he has dramatized the irrepressible conflict between centralized corporate capitalism and a democratic politics serving the general welfare.

As presidential candidate, Carter promised that a Democratic majority in Congress and a Democratic president would put an end to the policy impasse stemming from the conflict between the executive and legislative branches. This the corporate president has failed to do.

To restore executive-legislative harmony in passing policies able to solve the nation's pressing problems, the President would have to move away from corporate priorities and Congress would have to have more members ready to move aggressively with the President.

The impasse created by a Congress divided between corporate and popular loyalties and a President devoted to corporate power continues to deepen. While many members of Congress, especially liberal, labor-oriented and black Democrats, say "no" to the most blatant corporate policies of the President, they have not discovered an alternative "yes." This defines the growing "ungovernability" of American democracy that Carter's Trilateral corporate advisers fret over. It defines the decline in party loyalty among the people—and the unelectability of an incumbent president challenged by party "disloyalists" as the president's popularity inevitably sags.

The Kennedy boom.

A Kennedy candidacy would undoubtedly consolidate the new-found unity of the liberal Democrats, revive the Democratic Party, and extend its popular appeal. But unless labor, black, women, energy and other popular constituencies are forceful enough to push him against corporate power toward a democratic investment system, and unless he responded to that pressure in policy as well as rhetoric, the political impasse and the decline in popular party loyalties will shortly reassert themselves. And the trend toward authoritarian "solutions" will continue to grow along with the ranks of suitable candidates.

Rhetoric aside, and even here he has been cautious, Kennedy has so far given little indication of adopting a positive alternative to the corporate order. (He opposes oil decontrol but offers no credible energy policy; his national health insurance plan keeps medical care hostage to the inflationary private market.) Such an indication would require a minimal commitment to, for example, the "Democracy '76" agenda formulated before the last election by DSOC, labor and other progressive groups, calling for democratic planning for full employment, the redistribution of wealth through tax, fiscal and incomes policy, and growing democratic control over investment, starting with publicly owned banking, energy, and transportation.

It would mean a commitment by Kennedy to containing corporate power and the "private market" with the expansion of democratic power into economic affairs.

The Kennedy boom is symptomatic of a popular tendency in that direction, but is no guarantee of its definitive emergence. Third party initiatives, such as the Citizens Party (see page 2), is another symptom and by clearly raising the issue of the public interest vs. corporate interests will strengthen the pressure on the Democratic Party's left.

But if symptom is to be turned into a permanent component of the body politic, the anti-corporate forces have no choice but to concentrate on filling the legislatures and city halls with their representatives. Short of that Presidents will still be "free" to choose corporate power over genuine democracy, and there will be no lasting revival of a party politics responsible to the people. There will be no end to the impasse in government that breeds the authoritarian impulse.

The alternative to the Corporate Presidency is a socialist democracy. The absence of a major party committed to that alternative defines the crisis of American politics and assures the continuing procession of presidents serving the Higher Power. It assures that the Kennedys will turn out to be little more than Carters in perhaps more colorful disguise, and that America will remain mired in Nowhere land.

LETTERS

WHICH ARMY?

YOUR ARTICLE ON THE MILITARY draft (*ITT*, May 5) left me perplexed. As a revolutionary internationalist I want to abolish the army, not the draft. But, living under the capitalist monster, I would rather have an army manned by people who don't want to be in the army than an army of volunteers. Draftees would be less likely to shoot at me on a picket line or demonstration. Remember that many troops refused to go to Chicago in 1968 and that the revolt of draftees in Vietnam—who dragged their officers and created a *modus vivendi* with the Vietcong—were a major factor in ending that imperialist bloodbath.

I also think that the draft had a salutary effect on middle class (college) youth. Would they have demonstrated so much against the war if their asses weren't on the line? Look at Britain: the volunteer army is still killing children in Ireland, and there is no mass youth protest in England to end that imperialist war. The draft brings imperialism home to the middle class, which benefits from its super-profits along with the capitalists. It makes them think twice about foreign adventures. Also, the army is one of the few places where college-type youth ever mix with young people from other classes and races. It is also the only place where the middle class experience the full horror of capitalist "democracy" which is still based on totalitarian discipline and violence.

"F— the Army" has ever been the rallying cry of the conscript. Since that is my slogan, too, I'd rather see a conscript army full of scared, disgruntled, unhappy, bitching, poorly-trained, under-paid misfits who want to go home (and college classes full of draft-card burners) than a professional army (and college classes full of future accountants who couldn't give a damn about what's happening in Africa or South America).

—Richard Greeman
Durham, Ct.

DRAFT THE RICH

ITT REFERS TO THE DRAFT AS "A CONSCRIPT army, that venerable symbol of old world autocratic tyranny" (June 6) in an editorial opposing the re-imposition of conscription.

When *ITT* and other left publications note that in communist countries "Autocratic tyranny" exists as an integral part of their militarized systems, then I will take their opposition to the draft at face value. Otherwise it is the usual selective morality on the left.

I am definitely opposed to a draft, but for different reasons than those given on the left.

At some point in time the liberal establishment will recognize the onrushing process to expand the Gulags from Siberia in the Soviet lands to encompass the whole of the Earth including Harvard, Berkeley, Georgetown, Beverly Hills and the offices of *ITT*. Said liberal establishment will then shrill for a draft in high tones of hypocrisy. I will still oppose the draft until I see evidence that Harvard, Georgetown, et al. pay for their prior stupidity by having their sons and daughters on the front lines instead of explaining it all at some cocktail party or campus teach-in.

Even a loose definition of democracy ought to include equality of risks—in the defense of its values. There has not happened because liberals would still like to replace their efforts with a ready corps of wandering-asses ladies just in case they suddenly discover that will.

One draft I would enthusiastically support would be one that took those who benefit most from our present system (regardless of their political bent, as they would have the most to lose from at-

tacks on our system. A further benefit of such a policy would be that working class youth could bang away at their typewriters with such lines as "One is amazed to find in our present war so many war criminals and fascist brutes in the Harvard class of 1986."

Oh, well. It is a nice fantasy.

—Mike Lavelle
Chicago

DIALECTICAL DISCOMANIA

IFIND IT EXCEEDINGLY DIFFICULT TO understand how four reviews of disco could neglect any sense of critical insight. In fact, there is a total absence of dialectical choreography in the remarks of all four reviewers.

First of all, to suggest that dislike of disco comes out of racist paranoia is the worst sort of shuffle of black music. If anything, disco is a whitening-up of black music to make it palatable to the plastic blandness of the dominant culture. The progression from early r&b to Motown of Martha Reeves and Marvin Gaye, the roots of black music (church and soul) can still be heard. In disco all of the more complicated rhythms and backbeats and shoutin' are reduced to a mechanical and elemental thump.

Moreover, the regressive dancing style that chic middle-class disco dungeons have developed has overtones of the caveman era. Irrespective of the gay influences in the music, the dancing relationships between the sexes relegates the woman to the twirling show-off for her male partner. The only advancement is the unbelievable consumer fetish of clothes style that has accompanied disco. Such items as \$100 shoes are an obvious change from the barefootin' past.

Such is the curious dialectic of history. Your reviewers should try to give it a whirl every once in a while. Maybe after going round with it, they'll develop critical beats that help record the real sounds of black and feminist consciousness.

—Fran Shor
Detroit

GUESS WHAT—IT'S BEEN COMODITIZED

IDON'T THINK THERE'S ANYTHING great about the fact that if you want to make a living as a musician, most likely you have to play disco. Or that the top 40 is dominated by a form of music controlled by the producers and the profit motive. Or that many clubs pay a DJ to play records for a dance and charge \$5 a head rather than hire a band because it costs more to pay all the people involved in setting up a live performance.

And I don't think I'm being "homophobic" or racist by saying I can't stand disco because I can't stand what it stands for. I like reggae, women's music and new wave. These are forms of folk music because they represent the individual and the new musician struggling to enter a market dominated by established stars and a set idea of what's commercial.

Disco does not represent blacks or gays anymore—that's where its roots are but now it has been stolen by everyone from Rod Stewart to Leif Garrett. It's a multi-million dollar industry that benefits the capitalists, the producers and not the musicians.

Why didn't your critiques praise disco when it was first starting and still struggling?

—Adrienne Chapman
Brighton, Mass.

DISCO-RACISM

IREALLY CAN'T ACCEPT THE DEFENSE of disco and the criticism of its critics (*ITT*, June 6). Despite a few instances

of truly passionate, moving music (any song with the vision to chant "We are family!" in 1979 gets my vote, no matter what its form!) disco remains a whitened, watered-down version of some of the most vital music of the 20th century: American R&B.

Where's the progressive energy or "concentrated power" of \$25-a-head discos, dripping with gold lame and peopled by dancers who spend God knows how many dollars on gimmicks, from thousand-dollar wardrobes to disco roller skates? Granted, singers like the Four Tops and Aretha Franklin (as well as the great blues singers like Bessie Smith) have always projected a feel of well-dressed sophistication onstage, but the music retained a cutting edge of passion and rage which is entirely missing from most contemporary disco. And the life-affirming celebration of "Dancing in the Streets" is light-years away from the mirror-laden machoism of disco "cool," no matter how "hot" the movements may be.

Dislike of disco a racist reaction? The statement is laughable. Wilson Pickett has publicly declared his distaste for it; so has Muddy Waters. Countless black musicians—great musicians like Junior Wells, Buddy Guy, and James Cotton—have found their careers seriously hurt by the money-powered discomania engulfing their audiences, both black and white. Disco isn't a black phenomenon or a white phenomenon; it's a *bourgeoisie* phenomenon, a watering-down of tough, funky music to fit mass tastes. Old story, eh?

I'll close off with a little story. About a year ago, I was mixing the audio for a dance at a college in Connecticut, and the DJ was spinning disco record after disco record, a full night of 4/4 and violins. When he finally took a break, I slipped on Tower of Power's "East Bay Grease" LP and sat back to soak in the polyrhythmic patterns and street-level passions of that great group in their heyday. So up comes an ambling, crew-cut gnome with polo shirt and biceps, growling: "Hey, what're ya playing that nigger music for? We can't dance to that shit!"

That, dear critics, is your "racially integrated" Disco culture as it's seen out there in mid-America. Me, I'll take "Bustin' Loose" over that any old time.

—David Whiteis
Chicago

NO BEE GEES MAY 6

IT WOULD TAKE ME MORE THAN ONE page of *ITT* to refute, in full, Tom Smucker's elitist patronization of disco (*ITT*, June 6). However, I'd like to address two topics.

Smucker equates disco energy with political action. This is the joke of the year, especially in light of Washington D.C. on May 6th. Among the 100,000 strong, I saw not one Bee Gee, not one Village Person, not John or Joey Travolta, nor any discophile in any way shape or form. The political action that day stemmed from probing, articulate speakers and concerned musicians of the rock/folk scene. In my observation, the only leftist movement in disco is performed with the left foot. (In conjunction with the right foot) Disco is boringly centrist.

In addition, Smucker speaks grandly of the wonderfully non-racist tone of disco. (Maybe. Maybe not.) But did he mention that the lyrical content of disco routinely celebrates the most vicious sexist implications ever committed to record? No! To decry racism and not sexism is simply hypocritical and reminiscent of the '60s radical state of mind.

To me, it is no coincidence that disco, the retrogression look in women's fashion and the rise of the likes of Esquire's "sexy" woman have been dumped upon us almost in unison. Macho Man may do wonders for S-M gays and Superstud jocks, but as a feminist, I am nauseated.

—Robert Sigovich
Narberth, Pa.

SCARCITY, NOW AND THEN

ALTHOUGH I WHOLLY AGREE WITH the title of Andrew Winnick's article, "The time has come for socialized energy" (*ITT*, June 6), I believe that he has succeeded in thoroughly confusing a simple issue.

Non-renewable (fossil fuel) energy sources are becoming scarce. When a finite resource is used up at a positive rate, common sense tells us that it will eventually run out. This is not to deny that the energy corporations have not engineered short-run shortfalls. However, to assert that there is no energy crisis is to preclude the serious consideration of an issue of vital importance to the left. The faster unconstrained capitalist "growthmania" uses up scarce resources, the more difficult it will be to make the transition to an economy based on renewable decentralized energy sources.

The question is not whether we will run out of oil, coal and gas, but when. Marx's vision of the unfolding of the human drama spanned hundreds, even thousands of years. To dismiss from concern the consequences of resource exhaustion 20 or 30 years hence does the socialist vision a disservice.

—John M. Gowdy
Morgantown, WV

PEPPERED ON SALT

PAT LACEFIELD (*ITT*, MAY 30) MISREPRESENTS my position seriously when he characterizes it as a call to "rally around the Carter administration" in support of SALT II.

The peace movement must support Senate ratification of the treaty because its *defeat* would very likely destroy the fragile, razor-thin margin of accord, trust and accommodation developed in recent years between the Soviet Union and the U.S. Such destruction would doom any disarmament prospects. Conversely, only through expansion of the areas of cooperation can there be real hope of ending the nuclear arms buildup—and specifically of controlling (and finally dismantling) the war establishments with enormous self-interest in the arms race on both sides.

Such a fact leads the Coalition for a New Foreign and Military Policy and many other groups to urge the treaty's ratification. But to say the treaty should be *ratified* is scarcely to "rally round" or even support a Carter administration that has largely capitulated to the rising militarist pressure. Indeed, a priority for the peace movement of even greater urgency and importance than building support for SALT II must be *opposing* the Carter administration's plans for the MX missile system—a system that will represent a deadly escalation of the politics of nuclear confrontation if deployed.

—Harry C. Boyle
Minneapolis

RON ATLAS

WIDELY-KNOWN HOUSING ACTIVIST Ron Atlas died several days ago of lung cancer. He was a co-founder and a collective member of Shelterforce, a progressive national housing publication.

Ron was instrumental in organizing the New Jersey Tenant Organization, which has grown to have considerable influence. As an attorney, Ron helped draft some of the most progressive housing legislation that was ever introduced and passed in the cities and state of New Jersey. His memory will stand as an inspiration to many of us.

A memorial fund may be started in Ron's name to aid the housing movement. For more information call Ron's brother, John Atlas (201) 676-5610, 380 Main Street, East Orange, NJ 07018, or myself.

—Tim Siegel
City Wide Housing Coalition
Washington, D.C.
(202) 387-4463

ELAYNE RAPPING

Three Mile Island shows feminist vision is vital to American socialism

IN THE FIRST DAYS OF THE THREE MILE ISLAND CRISIS—which for us in Pittsburgh was never more than a wind change away—people at bus stops, water coolers, and supermarket checkout counters could talk of little else. Not since the Cuban missile crisis were nightmares so common or so hard to shake with daylight. As a socialist and a feminist I agonized over the proper thing to say to my children, my neighbors and co-workers. What is an adequate political response to something so complicated and yet so basically dumb as nuclear power?

One one level, it's been a heyday for socialists, because the anti-corporate analysis is built into the issue of nuclear power.

Few missed the importance of the profit motive in fueling the insanity. The collusion between government and business was transparent.

Yet, in talking to the people I know best, it became clear that "a socialist alternative" would not speak to the major concerns on people's minds.

In times of crisis certain political truths rise to the foreground while others recede. The truth I remembered most vividly was that a vision of socialism with meaning or appeal to the American people will have to be a *feminist* vision of socialism. For the most basic questions raised by TMI are simple, common sense questions of life and death, right and wrong. The sexual division of labor under capitalism has made these areas of life the responsibility of women, privately, and the women's movement, politically.

Women I have spoken to have no trouble seeing the most fundamental issues raised by nuclear accident. How many people, especially children, will suffer disease and death because of radioactivity? Who will be expected to care for these wounded and terrified human beings? Who will patch and repair the human and environmental casualties? Who will mop up the scientific mess and make life livable, even bearable, as the inevitable atrocities, which have yet to surface, emerge? Women, of course, as mothers, nurses, teachers, counsellors, social workers and friends.

Not that women are somehow biologically suited to this role. They certainly haven't chosen it. But the conditions of women's lives and women's work have made it impossible for them to turn away from it.

It is not surprising that when women are polled about TMI or Vietnam they invariably take a more humanistic approach than their husbands. They are al-

ways predominantly on the side of life, as opposed to profit or military power.

But women have little opportunity to transfer their concern about these crucial issues into the mainstream of American politics. There is a feminine ghetto to which these issues are relegated. It is as real and as tangible on the left as it is on the right or even on television.

In one respect, women who watch the soaps, and the people who create them, have been much bolder in their social fantasies than we have. They have actually created a fantasy world in which life and love and caring are the highest priorities and everyone's personal, social and productive lives revolve around these values. This is most noticeably true of the male characters. Nowhere in American culture will you see such feminized, nurturing men as the doctors, lawyers, husbands and fathers of daytime TV. (That, Dr. Freud, is what women really want.)

Soap opera is fantasy, though, and totally incompatible with the realities of the capitalist marketplace, which organizes human life around much different values. But the New Right has not let that contradiction stop it from using a similar kind of fantasy to win an increasing number of women and men to its fold.

At the heart of the political appeal of the "pro-life" movement, Anita Bryant's Save Our Children campaign, and even Marabel Morgan's Total Womanhood, is a gut-level understanding of something socialist feminists have been saying for years: that women's work at home, their emotional and physical services, are crucial to the functioning of our economic and political institutions. The New Right's hysterical efforts to keep women married, pregnant and at home is based on a real fear that if women leave home, to participate on masculinist terms in a world defined by the dog-eat-dog values of the marketplace, there will be no love or nurturing, no haven in a heartless world, no edible bread and no roses.

I think the right has made a serious challenge to the left in the ideological battle for American hearts and minds. And I think that the only response that will ring true politically and morally will be a vision of socialism which is thoroughly, radically, informed by feminism.

Which brings me back to TMI and the

challenge it presents to the left and the women's movement. The right is counting on the infinite reserve of female decency and responsibility to keep women forever cooking, ironing and cleaning up after male-made disasters. But, as TMI makes clear, the burden is becoming overwhelming. And the women I know both in and out of the women's movement are beginning to feel angry.

But what is the vision we offer? It will have to be qualitatively different from the popular image of socialism, which is in many ways as inhumane, dishonest and militaristic as our own government. It will have to be distinct from the media image of "women's liberation," which offers women nothing more than a bloodless mirror image of traditional male behavior and work.

We must bridge the gap that keeps "women's issues" privatized, domestic and therefore trivial. We must take the responsibility for caring, nurturing and decency out of the home and the female political ghetto and put it in the mainstream of American politics, where the decisions are made about how we will organize our work, use our resources, and live together. The nuclear issue, which includes the issues of energy, the environment and the military, is a feminist issue, and feminists and socialists must treat it as such.

For feminists, this means women must speak with authority about *everything* that affects them—not just the ERA or reproductive rights. Feminists must participate and give leadership in all progressive political struggles from national health care, to utilities, to trade union organizing.

As women move in this direction, the left will face a new challenge. It will have to accept the legitimacy of female leadership in traditionally male-defined areas, and learn to see the world as women have been forced to see it, from a humanistic perspective. Surely, the left can present an image of masculinity at least as reliable, decent and caring as the men on the soaps. We have no choice, really, for those are the qualities which are most essential in understanding and proposing solutions to what happened at Three Mile Island.

Elayne Rapping teaches English at Robert Morris College in Pittsburgh.

BOOKS

A Soviet view of American-Russian relations

RUSSIA AND THE UNITED STATES: U.S./SOVIET RELATIONS FROM THE SOVIET POINT OF VIEW

By N.V. Sivachev and N.N. Yakovlev
Translated by O.A. Titelbaum
University of Chicago Press, 1979, \$19.95

By William Appleman Williams

One reads this book, approved for publication by the Academic Council in Moscow, as one reads volumes by official American historians like Langer and Gleason, Feis, the early Kennan, and most of Schlesinger Jr.: for significant information, and for a sense of how reality is perceived by those in power. They are no more useless books than they are definitive history.

The brief review of relations prior to 1917 offers several interesting items. Relations were good until the 1890s because "ideology was subordinate to real national interests." As early as the 1820s, moreover, Russians looked to America as the model for industrial modernization. There is a lack of sophistication in dealing with American leaders such as Cleveland, Harrison, and McKinley; and the authors are mistaken in downplaying the importance of Russia in the evolution of an imperial strategy by Americans.

There are three titillating pages on the development of corporate capitalism (33-35): stimulating because the authors are more subtle than the traditional Bolshevik rhetoric about finance capitalism. But the subsequent discussion of relations from 1917 to 1932 offers nothing new and is based largely upon work by American

historians. It is absurd for Moscow not to open the archives for the years 1914-1921, just as for Castro not to do the same for 1890-1935.

Sivachev and Yakovlev raise significant issues that inform the rest of the book. The question here involves the inherent contradiction—or double standard—exhibited by American leaders (and most intellectuals) in the following ways:

1. There are no politics of consequence

Americans see nothing wrong with pushing their way of life everywhere, while insisting that the Russians remain perfect isolationists.

in the Soviet Union. There is only a struggle for "power." The authors put it this way: "American leaders count not only on the generosity of the Kremlin, but also on the difference between the political processes in the United States and the USSR. They believe that the Soviet system permits the Kremlin leaders to evaluate circumstances simply objectively, while the American system requires the additional freight of triumphal propaganda...[but] the degree of sensitivity of Soviet public opinion...is underestimated in the United States."

We can discount the phrase "public opinion," but we cannot discount the politics. Different groups struggling with each other for their respective objectives and priorities. This is a clear message to us that there are consequential politics in the USSR. We deny or ignore that truth to our peril.

2. It is permissible for us to criticize,

or apply pressure to change, internal policy in the USSR, but it is unacceptable for them to do the same in the USA. We can push Christianity, or try to remove a foreign minister (Bullitt vs. Litvinov), but they must behave as perfect isolationists and virginal non-interventionists.

3. It is perfectly within the rules for us to renege on economic commitments by playing word games: a credit is not a loan, etc.

4. It is wise for us to devise a sophisticated strategic plan, but fiendish for them to look out for their own interests.

All of those matters clearly informed and affected Soviet perceptions of American policy. The authors develop their remark, "ideology was subordinate to real national interests," as a rather sophisticated dialectical argument: western capitalism (led by Roosevelt) wanted to defeat the Axis at the least possible cost to itself. This produces, in the course of the remainder of the book, a subtle criticism of Roosevelt, Churchill and others. The West successively avoided great losses only to emerge victorious with the Soviets claiming territory and influence in payment for death and devastation. Here we have a certain kind of revision of the revisionists.

And so we come to the consequences of letting the Russians defeat the Germans. It is eerie. We chose fewer casual-

ties, and butter at home, only to awake from the dream of preserving the 19th century to the reality of capitalism on the defensive.

So naturally we turned to the capital intensive solution: the atom bomb. The authors do an impressive bit of work with Clark Clifford's memo to Truman in September 1946, almost a year before the publication of Kennan's "X" article: "Therefore, in order to maintain our strength at a level which will be effective in restraining the Soviet Union, the U.S. must be prepared to wage atomic and biological warfare."

Make no mistake about it: Sivachev and Yakovlev are good. Of course, we learn to "bleep" the nonsense out of Russian rhetoric, just as we do with our own American spokespeople. But they do confront the issue of human rights in a way that keeps you up very late at night. It is not so much a matter of food, shelter, and clothing against one-man-one-vote, as it is something they quote from Jack Greene on the American Revolution: "Every man was to have an equal opportunity to become more unequal."

Yes, it is deadly.

Either we do better than the American Revolution and the Bolshevik Revolution or we will be preaching about human rights as we commit genocide.

William A. Williams, president-elect of the Organization of American Historians, is the author of the "revisionist" classics, *The Tragedy of American Diplomacy* and *The Contours of American History*. His latest book is *Empire as a Way of Life* (forthcoming).

PERSPECTIVES FOR A NEW AMERICA

Bringing socialist ideas back down to earth

THE FOLLOWING IS A CONTINUATION OF THE DISCUSSION of an American-style socialism begun by Leland G. Stauber's three-part series, "For a Socialism That Works" (May 3, 10, 17, 1978), with subsequent contributions by John H. Brown (May 31), Charles Lindblom (July 5), John Hardesty (Aug. 9), Seymour S. Bellin and S.M. Miller (Oct. 18), and the Red Cent Collective (May 2, 1979). Stauber's reply to his academic liberal critics and to his ITT socialist critics appeared May 6 and 23, 1979. The entire series is available on request for \$3.00.

By Irving Weinstein

One criticism of Leland G. Stauber's proposal for a program for American socialism is that even if it could be carried out it isn't worth doing.

It isn't worth doing because: a) it's not socialism, and b) even as a transitional program, it doesn't lead to socialism.

Stauber's proposals do not amount to socialism—if we define socialism as the overcoming of alienation, the transcendence of commodity-fetishism, and the replacement of "economic efficiency" with human growth, all principles encapsulated in the phrase "production for use."

But, unfortunately, that doesn't end the matter, since the critics cannot tell us how to realize this vision of socialism. They give us concepts, but no workable program for fleshing them out. Specifically, we don't know how to organize society where production is carried on for use—rather than the market—and we certainly don't know how to organize a society of free cooperation.

No socialist party in the world has this knowledge, including states that began with a clean slate (expropriating the owning classes without compensation) and social-democratic states governing for decades.

The criticism that Stauber's proposals do not constitute a genuine transitional program is more useful. Stauber sees his program as transitional, but to his goal of market socialism. He rejects an Utopian vision of socialism embodied in the phrase "production for use." I am responding to those willing to assume that Stauber's program is capable of attainment, but that it is not worth pursuing since it is not a genuine transitional reform.

Ordinarily, a program that promised to be politically attractive and workable, and that held out the hope of isolating and then eliminating the wealthy and turning over corporate ownership to the public, would be seized upon with great joy by socialists desperately seeking to enter the mainstream.

Stauber's incorporation of the market, profit-making, business accounting, etc., is the inhibiting factor. Can this objection be answered? I believe so.

The answer includes two different types of argument:

1) The market without private ownership can be much more effectively subjected to social ends.

2) In any event, the market cannot be eliminated in this historical period. (Those who equate socialism with the abolition of the market are thereby saying that socialism is not on the agenda.)

Consider what Stauber's proposals would do. They would break the power of the private owners of corporate wealth. Isn't it reasonable to assume that even within the maintenance of a market system—but within the context of a vibrant democratic process that has shown its vitality by legislating profound class change

—the way to public progress is a good deal more open?

Stauber's proposals would not eliminate classes. But they certainly would change qualitatively the scale of differences, and to that degree increase the capacity of the body politic to adopt policies in the general interest.

Carrot and stick.

An effort on a national scale to abolish the market and institute production for use was made by socialists. That's what War Communism in the early 1920s in the Soviet Union attempted to do.

The experience of War Communism demonstrated that destroying the market did not bring production for use. The ensuing impasse was ultimately ended by the introduction of the New Economic Policy (NEP) which restored market relations.

Definitions of production for use emphasize conscious planning by the whole people, for the benefit of the whole people, and, implicitly, abolition of classes and the achievement of equality.

This implies also the abolition of the connection between reward and work (the wage system) and its replacement by reward based on need. (The difference between need and desire is left unclear.)

In this view, society is not based on compulsion, neither the compulsion of class rule nor that of seemingly "autonomous" market forces.

Rather, society is based on free cooperation. This is the quantum leap in human affairs embodied in the vision of socialism. It is a set of social arrangements freely chosen, freely entered into.

But where does this bring us? Simply to this: Where free cooperation and its preconditions do not exist, society will of necessity rely on variations of that age-old principle of coercion and incentive, the carrot and the stick.

One lesson for socialists is simply that production for use can't be based on coercion. To enforce free cooperation is a contradiction in terms. Moreover, its "enforcement" by an elite of utopians becomes more onerous than the old system of market compulsion and incentives. Ultimately it cannot work.

Meidner and Stauber.

If we cannot simply abolish the market, can socialists "use" or "tame" the market? We must make clear what aspect of the market we are considering.

If alienation is defined as inherent in commodity production and exchange then socialists cannot overcome alienation in this historical period. Alienation must be discussed in the context of a market economy that involves the role of unions, their degree of autonomy, workers' intervention in the work process, and the general enhancement of life chances through the growth of equality and social productivity.

One would have welcomed a flat statement by Stauber that trade union autonomy was a fundamental civil right. Per-

haps Stauber took this to be evident, since his proposals are based on a market that already includes trade union rights.

But even had Stauber been careful to make such a flat statement, he does not hold the pro-labor position of traditional socialism.

This may partly account for the difference between his proposal and the Swedish Meidner plan, which calls for workers, through their trade unions, owning and controlling corporate stock bought by profits put aside for this purpose (ITT, May 3).

Such trade union ownership holds the possibility of all sorts of arrangements and experiments in an effort to find the right mix of worker self-determination, efficiency, profit-making and social purpose.

But significantly, the Meidner and the Stauber plans have the fundamental likeness that each is a method for buying out, peacefully and through the democratic process, the private corporate owners, and each retains the market system.

The Meidner plan is undeniably "more socialist" than Stauber's. Meidner directly raises the issues arising from workers' ownership and would create a social laboratory of tremendous significance and of particular interest and importance to socialists.

But there is nothing in the Stauber proposals that forecloses socialists' adopting the heart of the proposals while having a deep affinity with labor and advocating a range of traditional socialist pro-labor proposals.

At the same time, the exclusion of the traditional pro-labor bias of socialists does not make the Stauber proposals irrelevant.

The bureaucratic relationships in a factory probably do generally lead to higher efficiency. This is certainly the average American perception. And being able to make the claim that his plan in no way impairs efficiency is seen as extremely important to Stauber, both for its own sake and for political reasons.

Stauber can also claim that differences in class consciousness and the relative lack of interest shown in American trade unions in organizing the work process, are a reflection of the general opposition that would arise to a proposal that allowed, under general legislation, a cor-

poration's employees to take ownership of its shares. He wants to avoid the political liability that would result from the opposition's claim that the proposed legislation opens the door to inefficiencies of "workers' control."

The political attractiveness of a proposal, especially one that implies major structural changes in society, is important.

Experience vs. utopia.

Nothing in Stauber's proposals would prevent the body politic from intervening in the economy, massively or otherwise. Stauber is no Milton Friedman. And there is nothing in his proposals that imply that the market by itself can be trusted to solve such basic problems as full employment, rates of growth, the distribution of income, and other vital public questions.

Stauber specifically states: "Where the results of this [market] process diverge from the socially desirable, then separate government measures can be used to promote the results desired."

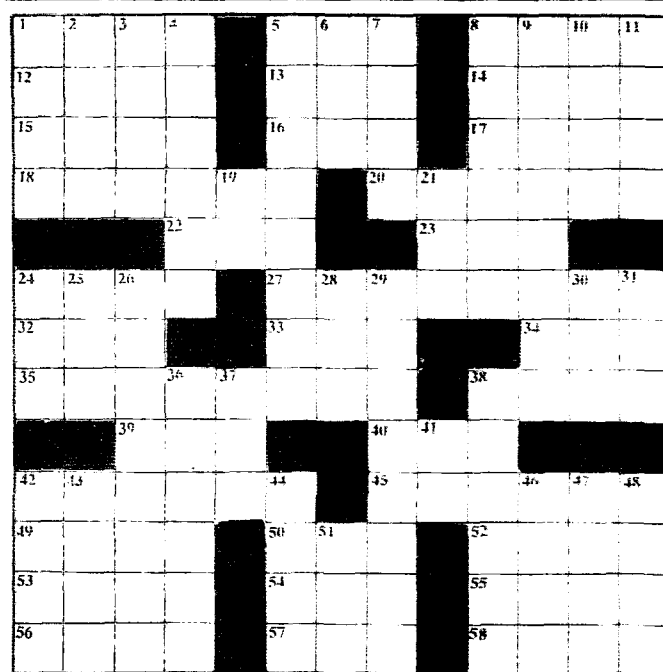
It is not necessary to agree on the specifics of Stauber's proposals. These can be the subject of intense debate. The point is to look at the underlying conception.

•He has zeroed in on the main task of isolating the owners of big business—a prerequisite for social progress—and worked out an extraordinarily fertile strategy for doing so.

•He has come to grips with the Utopianism endemic to socialism by telling us straightforwardly: you can't institute production for use and free cooperation overnight.

•He has faced up to the socialist experience over the past decades—the experience stemming from the Russian Revolution and that of the social democratic tradition. Both in the Soviet Union and in Eastern Europe, to one degree or another, the market has had to be reintroduced, and social democratic governments have been unable to transcend the market.

Stauber hasn't given us the last word. There is no last word. But he has succeeded in bringing the discussion of a socialist program for the U.S. down to earth. He has based himself on real socialist experience rather than utopian longings. He has inaugurated an extremely useful discussion. It is a remarkable achievement. ■



Author, Author

By Jay Shepherd

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- 8 Frightful fellow
- 12 Observe
- 13 Indian
- 14 Raise
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- 42 Conflagration
- 43 Hebrew month
- 44 Yielding readily
- 46 Stratford's river
- 47 Respighi's "Pines of —"
- 48 Inspires reverence
- 51 Court

Answer to last week's puzzle:

SEED WAGES EDDO
AVER AGORA ARIA
DELI MONEY BOLD
MAE SOS
MOPES DEPOT PTA
TWO ICING BARED
RES DOLLAR LONE
THER HALF
FEAR PRICES ITT
EGGED ACHES TIA
DOE AGNES ESSEX
BYR EST
CASH ADAPT OCHS
ACIO CIGAR OPIA
DEBT ERASE DIME

PERSPECTIVES

The war in Vietnam was no aberration, a new book proves

By Jack Colhoun

THE IRONY OF VIETNAM: THE SYSTEM WORKED

By Leslie H. Gelb with Richard K. Betts

The Brookings Institution, Washington, D.C., 1979

EVER SINCE THE SPECTACULAR COLLAPSE OF NGUYEN Van Thieu's U.S.-backed Saigon regime, politicians and strategists have debated what course the U.S. should follow in international affairs. Recent polls have described the dominant opinion as a "post-Vietnam syndrome" of opposition to sending American troops to world trouble spots. Cold warriors have watched this expression of sentiment anxiously and have been disturbed by Washington's failure to intervene in Angola and Iran. They charge that the U.S. has fallen prey to a post-Vietnam lack of will.

Going to the source of the post-war policy debate, Leslie Gelb and Richard Betts have written an analysis of what went wrong during the Vietnam war. In *The Irony of Vietnam*, the authors conclude that the war policy decision-making process worked admirably, but the policy failed miserably: "Vietnam was not an aberration of the decision-making system but a logical culmination of the principles that leaders brought with them into it." The Vietnam war, Gelb and Betts believe, brought an end to the post-World War II policy consensus of the global containment of communism.

Both sides of the post-Vietnam debate, the authors write, are wrong: the cold warriors, eager to intervene in any local conflict that may be perceived as being advantageous to world communism, and the non-interventionists, skeptical of Wash-

ington's role as global gendarme. Gelb and Betts make the case for a pragmatic, rather than doctrinal, approach to foreign policy. They argue that that "is the basic lesson of the Vietnam war."

Betts further elaborated this thesis of pragmatism in an Op-Ed article in the *New York Times*. "Competition with the Russians and their clients," Betts writes, "is necessary and not a question of 'all or nothing.'" Accordingly, policy-makers are urged to learn where to take a stand, realizing that every situation may not be favorable for American intervention. Their only guideline is: "Never commit massive conventional forces in a civil war on behalf of a weak government against disciplined revolutionaries with sanctuaries."

By exploding the myth that the Vietnam war was a tragic mistake, Gelb and Betts have made an important contribution to the growing literature on the war. But in doing so, the authors make even more imperative a discussion of the for-

eign policy context in which the war occurred and in which the post-war debate now takes place. *The Irony of Vietnam*, however, waffles in its assessment of the reasons for U.S. involvement in Vietnam.

Because of their preoccupation with an examination of the decision-making process, Gelb and Betts ignore critical questions concerning the validity of the containment policy.

In the years following World War II, Vietnam came to symbolize the post-war trend of decolonization and the American response to it. At first, Washington pressured France to grant a degree of independence to its Indochinese colonies, but Paris refused and a losing war with the anti-imperialist Vietnamese ensued.

The outbreak of the Korean War convinced Washington decision-makers that the Vietnamese liberation war was part of a global communist assault, thereby fitting within the context of the emerging cold war. Vietnam, according to the authors, became the Asian Berlin in the U.S. fight against communism. The post-war battle to prevent colonies from breaking out of the American capitalist hegemony faced its supreme test in Vietnam. Washington was generally willing to accept decolonization under moderate leadership friendly to the U.S., but was determined to crush socialist liberation movements, such as in Vietnam.

As Gelb and Betts stress: "U.S. involvement in Vietnam is not mainly a story of inadvertent descent into unforeseen quicksand but of why U.S. leaders considered it vital not to lose Vietnam by force to communism. They believed Vietnam to be vital, not for itself, but for what they thought its 'loss' would mean internationally and domestically."

Presidents Truman, Eisenhower, Kennedy and Johnson, and their chief advisers, the authors argue persuasively, were not deluded by false progress reports and did not act out of misguided optimism regarding the likelihood of obtaining short-term or long-term military victory. Instead, they generally acted to stave off imminent defeat. Gelb and Betts write: "In effect, they chose a course of action that promised stalemate, not victory or peace...in the hope that their will to continue...would cause the communists to relent."

The authors contend this strategy, actively pursued since 1950, was the unique product of American democracy: Successive administrations and public opinion combined to create constraints against winning but also to reinforce the importance of not losing. There is some truth in this argument, but its importance is secondary.

In the post-World War II era, foreign policy was formulated in the Executive Branch, leaving few significant policy-making responsibilities for Congress. The American people were excluded from the decision-making process, left to do little other than foot the tax bills and fight the wars. By assigning the failure of policy to American democracy, the authors skirt the task of analyzing the reasons underlying containment, in general, and Vietnam, in particular.

Gelb and Betts briefly consider a wide range of interpretations of U.S. policy in Vietnam, but concentrate on explaining the process of involvement and the evolution of strategy. Nonetheless, a compelling interpretation can be pieced together

from the evidence they present without analysis, and from other sources. The picture that emerges has more significance for the post-Vietnam foreign policy debate than their conclusion that the operation was a success, but the patient died.

Under Truman, the National Security Council declared in 1952 that Indochina was "of great strategic interest in the general international sense rather than in the purely French interest, and...essential to the security of the free world." "The NSC concluded it was crucial "to prevent the countries of Southeast Asia from passing into the Communist orbit."

In 1954, the Geneva Accords negotiated an end to the fighting between the French colonialists and the Vietminh. Vietnam was temporarily divided at the 17th parallel, acknowledging communist control of the north while France's defeated Vietnamese allies regrouped in the south. Determined to prevent reunification of the country by the Vietnamese revolutionaries, considered a certain result of the July 1956 general elections mandated by the Geneva Agreement, the Eisenhower Administration sought to create a permanent anti-communist regime in the south. The U.S.-backed government headed by Ngo Dinh Diem canceled the elections as American specialists poured into South Vietnam in defiance of the Geneva Accords.

The justification for continued support of the Diem regime was spelled out in a 1956 NSC memorandum: Communist control of "any single free country" in Southeast Asia "would encourage tendencies toward accommodation by the rest," and would endanger the region as far away as India and Japan economically and politically. Backing for South Vietnam increased during the early 1960s, as the Kennedy administration presented the Diem regime as its most modern weapon against "wars of liberation" in Southeast Asia.

By the mid-1960s, the Johnson administration further escalated its commitment to a succession of South Vietnamese generals and politicians jockeying for power after the Diem assassination, as South Vietnam verged on military and political collapse.

Gelb and Betts concede, "By 1958 South Vietnam housed the largest U.S. overseas economic mission anywhere," adding, "It would neither have come into being nor survived without massive U.S. support." But, they sidestep interpretative conclusions as to why Washington felt compelled to create and nurture a regime with so little popular support in violation of an international agreement.

In their discussion of the national security stakes in Vietnam, the authors outline the motivation of successive administrations: If Vietnam were to break out of the American-led capitalist orbit, it would dangerously upset the global balance of power economically and politically. Gelb and Betts don't dwell on the bountiful references in the *Pentagon Papers* and memoirs of the 1950s to the rich raw material sources of Vietnam, and especially its Southeast Asian neighbors. But assuring continued access to these natural resources was surely a principal motivation of the decision-makers.

Had the authors included a critical analysis of the conceptual underpinning of the foreign policy that the decision-making system served, their contribution to the ongoing post-Vietnam debate would have been of a far greater magnitude. For example, it should be asked, what right the U.S. has to create friendly regimes and wage war against others led out of colonialism by radicals?

Nevertheless, the principal conclusion reached by Gelb and Betts—the Vietnam war was not a mistake—is an important one. It will doubtlessly disturb those comforted by the postwar consensus that the war was a horrible aberration. As the authors write: "The system worked. The story of U.S. policy toward Vietnam is either far better or far worse than supposed." The evidence points to the latter.

Jack Colhoun, an historian, specializing in post-World War II American foreign and military policy, was an editor of *AM-EX-Canada*, the magazine formerly published by anti-Vietnam war resisters exiled in Canada.

A PLANET TO CHOOSE

Value Studies in Political Ecology

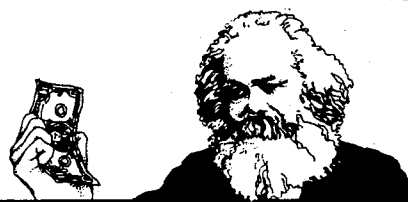
ALAN S. MILLER

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- WOMAN, MAN, AND NATURE
- ENVIRONMENTAL IMPACTS OF SCIENCE AND TECHNOLOGY
- BIOETHICS AND ENVIRONMENTAL VALUES
- TOWARD A NEW ENVIRONMENTAL ETHIC

Formerly environmental news editor for Pacific News Service in San Francisco, the author now teaches political ecology at the University of California, Berkeley. His earlier writings include *THE ECOLOGY AND POLITICS MANUAL* and *THE CASE OF THE PEOPLE AGAINST STANDARD OIL*.

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LIFE IN THE U.S.

BLACK MOVEMENT

A. Philip Randolph, leader of blacks and socialists

By Manning Marable

IN 1917 A SMALL UNION PERIODICAL in New York City, *The Hotel Messenger*, changed its name and political orientation. Under the guidance of two black political activists, Asa Philip Randolph and Chandler Owen, the new *Messenger* became militantly socialist in its aims and analysis. Randolph criticized the nominal leader of black America, *Crisis* editor W.E.B. DuBois, as an "opponent of unionism" and "political opportunist." The *Messenger* became the most controversial socialist publication of its time, and A. Philip Randolph soon acquired the reputation by most white governmental authorities as "the most dangerous Negro in America."

After World War I, Randolph was recognized as the leading young black socialist and union organizer in the country. By 1919, in the aftermath of the Russian Revolution, Randolph and dozens of other black American and West Indian activists had joined the Socialist Party. Randolph, Owen, W.A. Domingo, Hubert H. Harrison and others moved toward the Socialist tendency, whereas black militants like Cyril V. Briggs, Grace Campbell and Frank Crosswaith joined the fledgling Communist Party.

Randolph was an organizer and journalist during this period. In 1925 he founded the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters, a union of black workers employed primarily on passenger trains. The *Messenger* hired Harlem Renaissance author Wallace Thurman as managing editor, and it gained new readers even among the Negro middle class. George S. Schuyler, a controversial black socialist who eventually became a Goldwater conservative, wrote many H.L. Mencken-like satirical editorials for the popular magazine.

For many black intellectuals and trade unionists, Randolph had become the "new DuBois," the central proponent of economic power and civil rights for blacks. Yet even during this early period there was something uncertain about Randolph's rhetoric and curiously cautious political behavior. Black author Langston Hughes once asked managing editor Thurman "what kind of magazine the *Messenger* was, and he said it reflected the policy of whoever paid off best at the time."

In the Great Depression, however, Randolph again exhibited courage and political independence. Contrary to DuBois, Randolph argued that "the New Deal is no remedy" to black peoples' problems. It did not "change the profit system," nor "place human rights above property rights." Assisted by Alain Locke, Ralph Bunche and other left-oriented black intellectuals, Randolph initiated the National Negro Congress in February 1936. Hundreds of black trade unionists, radical civic reformers and Marxists participated in a black united front in opposition both to Roosevelt's "welfare capitalism" and to the do-nothing acquiescence of the NAACP. Despite the breakup of the Congress in the early 1940s over the issue of Communist control, the organization represented one of the most advanced coalitions of black activists ever assembled.

With the threat of a new World War, Randolph urged the Roosevelt administration to promote hiring of minority workers in factories holding federal defense contracts. When Roosevelt failed to perform according to black expectations, Randolph raised the slogan of a

Negro March on Washington. The threat of 50,000 angry black workers picketing the White House induced F.D.R. to sign Fair Employment Practices Executive Order 8802, which banned discrimination in such jobs. This was the beginning of the principle of affirmative action, which is now under attack both by federal court rulings such as *Weber* and *Bakke* and by the political right.

With the end of World War II and the beginning of the Cold War, Randolph's creative contributions to the struggle for black equality ended. Like other labor leaders and socialists such as Norman Thomas, Randolph capitulated to the logic of extreme anti-Communism. Randolph and Thomas traveled to the Far East lecturing against the evils of radical trade unionism, under what later was revealed to be money from the CIA.

He became an acknowledged "elder statesman" during the Civil Rights Movement of the 1950s. Making his peace with those black leaders he had formerly opposed in the NAACP and Urban League, Randolph had little to offer in the way of guidance or political theory to the newest generation of black radicals, the rebels of SNCC, CORE and SCLC. Ironically, during this period, DuBois, now in his 80s, moved toward a more thoroughly radical condemnation of America's political economy than Randolph ever had. The old "political opportunist" had be-

come the active proponent of world peace and black liberation, while his "Young Turk" critic had become a defender of the conservative status quo.

The central failure of A. Philip Randolph, however, was his lifelong inability to address adequately questions of black culture and black nationalism. From the beginning editorials of the *Messenger*, Randolph argued that "unions are not based upon race lines, but upon class lines," and that "the history of the labor movement in America proves that the employing class recognize no race lines." This crude oversimplification led Randolph to approach the problem of black labor emancipation in an ahistorical and economically deterministic way.

He was successful in building a viable black union that could struggle for wage increases and shorter hours, but for little else. The *Messenger's* repeatedly bitter attacks against black nationalist Marcus Garvey (such as one 1923 editorial, "Supreme Negro Jackass") did not stop hundreds of thousands of black workers from supporting and defending black nationalism. Randolph and notably his protégé Bayard Rustin, never appreciated the powerful relationship between white racism, black nationalism and their impact on worker consciousness, ideology and day-to-day behavior.

Randolph's contributions to the ongoing struggles of black people were un-



Asa Philip Randolph

ique and profoundly important. His example of militancy in the face of white opposition during his years as a trade union organizer was uncompromising. With the possible exceptions of DuBois' *Crisis* and the more recent *Black World* digest of the 1960s, the *Messenger* may have been the most original and provocative black publication during the 20th century. The politics of Randolph's later years cannot fully destroy the major legacy he left for black America. ■

Bill Veeck, promoter

Continued from page 24.

trying to get more women into the ballpark...to open the clasp of the nation's pocketbook. "Ladies' Day" has always been a popular gimmick. As a matter of fact, administering the "Ladies' Day" promotion was one of Veeck's jobs when he worked for his father at Wrigley Field. There have been other gimmicks too. The Minnesota Twins got into a lot of trouble with feminists last summer when they gave women free halter tops, the word "Twins" emblazoned across the front.

If Veeck's predictions are accurate, such gimmicks may become unnecessary in a few years, because women will be flocking to the ballpark to watch members of their own sex take the field with the men. Yes, that's right, women playing major league baseball. Veeck won't put a timetable on it, but he says maybe in five years.

He not only believes it will happen, he's all for it, and it's not just big talk. Veeck tried to sign a female player, Babe Didrikson, long before ERA or Title IX became a part of the national vocabulary. According to Veeck, he offered to sign her with the Milwaukee Brewers. She turned him down. Didrikson, he says, "was the one who decided against it. She felt the time wasn't right. Not I. I wanted to sign her because she could play."

Babe Didrikson was something special, but Veeck is convinced there are more like her out there somewhere. As he puts it, "There's never been one of a kind anywhere else, in any species that I've heard of."

Has Veeck seen a woman since Babe who could play in the major leagues? He admits he hasn't, but contends the talent is there, but that it just hasn't been developed.

"I've seen some women softball players," he argues, "that had they started

playing baseball, in my opinion, could have played [major league baseball]. But because there was no opportunity...they weren't used to hitting. There's a difference."

He tells of a speech he made recently at a little league banquet representing some 800 youngsters on Chicago's South Side. "The most valuable player was a girl who was a catcher, who hit .586—more than our whole team! She was almost a unanimous choice.

"Now, if there's an opportunity for her to continue...and baseball happens to be the one game where size and strength are not going to matter, but agility and hand-eye coordination...why is there any reason that a girl, a woman couldn't play?"

Overstepping boundaries.

Signing a woman to play major league ball would be in keeping with the Veeck tradition. He specializes in the outrageous, or perhaps overstepping the boundaries of his era. When he had the Cleveland Indians, he signed Larry Doby, the first black to play in the American League. In 1942, he had great plans to buy the Philadelphia club and fill the roster with players from the untapped reservoir of talent in the old Negro League. The deal fell through because Veeck opened his mouth too soon to the wrong people.

If he could find a woman capable of playing in the majors, Veeck boasts, "I'd sign her in a second." And not because she's a woman. "I have no interest in fighting causes."

Putting a woman up to bat could bring out a lot of curiosity-seekers with a lot of dollars in their pockets, but Veeck insists he would never sign a woman for the purpose of selling tickets. "My only interest," he claims, "is getting the best players that I can get. I don't care whether

they're male, female or have two heads."

He says this, and yet he is the man who put 3'7" midget Eddie Gaedel at the plate in 1951.

"But he got on base," Veeck rejoins. "He got on base. He had a foot-and-a-half strike zone. I was making a point, and I made it. If I'd had any courage, I might have signed eight of them [midgets], and we might have won a game in '51."

"But you see, the one thing you have to understand about that is we didn't announce in advance we were going to use a midget. Only four or five people knew about it. We didn't use it to draw people. He was just there the day they happened to come, and he never played again. So it wasn't an attempt to build a big house."

"The same thing is true of blacks. We signed Doby not because he was black, but because he was the best ballplayer I could find in the country that was available. Same as Satchel Paige. The fact that he was an ancient and venerable gentleman with a storied background meant absolutely nothing if he couldn't pitch. Then you would have been doing him and yourself a disservice. And the same thing is true of a woman. She has to be able to play competitively, otherwise you have set back rather than helped."

Maybe he wouldn't sign a woman as a PR stunt, but there are plenty of things he will do. He gives away cars, giant birthday cakes, live lobsters and pre-arranged dates—with boys, with girls—you name it. The Veeckian hustle never stops. At this very moment, the front office is working to implement his latest stunt, while the mastermind soaks in his tub, dreaming up new ones. He won't tell what's on the agenda for this summer, not even off the record. Bill Veeck gags are top secret stuff.

Still, every "genius" has a dream, some crazy notion that he's willing to share simply because it seems totally beyond the realm of human capability. Veeck's fantasy isn't too outrageous: he just wants to control the weather.

"The end of the perfect day...I'd like to have a rainbow appear over the scoreboard." ■

ART « ENTERTAINMENT

BOO!



Author Michele Wallace

Black macho, white chic

BLACK MACHO AND THE MYTH OF THE SUPER-WOMAN

By Michele Wallace
Dial Press, \$7.95

By M. Ron Karenga

Hidden in an unmarked spot between an endless forest of erect phalluses and the tragedy of vaginal tracts, ever-expanding and exploited, is perhaps Michele Wallace's most instructive line. It is no doubt meant as a social criticism, but is most definitively a deserved self-criticism.

"It may be," she tells us, "one of the signs of a truly decadent society when major so-called radical voices begin to romanticize oppression." This is the conclusion one comes to after reading her reductive romanticization of black male-female relations and the social conditions that have shaped and challenged them.

Wallace's romanticized version of black man-woman relations is marked by its reductiveness and its political character. Her web of mythology is woven in personal and sexual terms. She reveals her "protected life," her painful insecurities and her female relatives' merciless criticism of males

she would bring home. It doesn't dawn on her that she is duplicating their denigration in a much more public and damaging manner.

She appropriates Carmichael for her own; he is for her not so much a political leader as a sex symbol. But she is angry with black men, perhaps most definitively, the rough street men she dated to break from the stifling sterility and fantasy of black middle class life. Somewhere, someone has hurt her and she urges black women never to forget "how the black man let us down."

Wallace masks this personal agony, evaluation and solution as a collective experience and position. Even she inadvertently concedes this when she laments the lack of perception on the part of her disadvantaged black sisters, who in the overwhelming majority disagree with her assumptions and instructions.

Wallace translates the world in sexual terms. She is obviously impressed with Cleaver and quotes Mailer religiously. They too have sought the key to society in penis and vagina dynamics and though she criticizes them, she emulates them. For her, Black Power meant "gargantuan omnipotent black

male organs...tight pants over young asses...." Carmichael, again, for Wallace, is a "black man with an erect phallus...pushing it up in America's face."

The white man fears the black penis, not black power. Her Haitian friend is tall and handsome and Angela Davis is "raw," "statuesque," and "handsome." Davis' program for action is reduced to a sexual one of "Do-It-for-Your-Man."

Wallace's definitions often contain a disdain for black women as well as black men. In 1966, she tells us, "the black man had two pressing tasks before him; a white woman in every bed, and a black woman under every heel." Moreover, the Black Movement is reduced to a struggle for manhood; again, a borrowing from Cleaver with due deference to Mailer. Jonathan Jackson's courthouse raid is for her a good movie scene and the black revolutionary to her is a child acting for the sheer pleasure he'll receive from reactions and the pain he'll cause. Wallace dismisses King, Carmichael, McKissick and Gregory as "a motley crew" of civil rights leaders.

Only white feminists and white social scientists are safe and signi-

ficant. Even the black woman in Wallace's hands becomes a social and intellectual suicide" and a "reactionary creature" who has engaged in a pathetic and "mindless rejection of feminism." One can only ponder the miracle of having only Wallace left with the vision and appropriate white feminist values to save us from our black sins.

Wallace's reductiveness is not innocent, but political in conception, effect and reception. It is a political choice to present black relationships in the worst of images and offer no alternative. It is also a political choice to elevate sexual questions above social ones and to elevate the personal over the collective.

Moreover, it is a political choice to condemn black men and women and praise white women, as it is to quote white social scientists and belittle or ignore black social scientists. Gutman and Genovese are honored; Blassingame goes unmentioned. Mailer, not black scholars of black family life like Staples, Hill and Billingsley, is quoted at length to tell us who and what we are. And when black female authors Ladner and Reid are mentioned, it is not in sisterhood, but in scorn for their not accepting white feminism.

The reception of Wallace among white liberals and leftists reveals both their image of us and themselves. These myths, if accepted, divide us and flatter them. Wallace's attack on the black man and woman for their assumed fantasies, failures and ignorance parallels Cleaver's projections of a conscience inflamed with insecurities and insights more clinical than conducive to clarity about black relationships. After all, (and Wallace cites this), it must be a heavy stroke to fragile white egos to hear Cleaver's clinical confession of lust for a woman guilty of lies that led to Emmett Till's lynching. Besides the psychosexual problems such a confession implies, it keeps alive the myth that, even if it means death, the black man can't get Viking legends and leg out of his mind.

Michele Wallace argues the same myths for different reasons, but perhaps with more anger and insidiousness. No one can deny that there are contradictions in our relationships. But having said this, it is important that we see and stress the social basis of these contradictions. This does not mean that there is no personal dimension to our problems. But in the final analysis, all personal problems of any magnitude have a social base and require a social solution. Moreover, contradictions between black men and women must be solved collectively in a spirit of love and struggle, as opposed to the anger,

alienation and hostility we hold for the oppressor who has ruled and wrecked our lives.

Finally, even as conditions create consciousness and conduct, consciousness can also create conditions. In this way, we don't end up simply discussing our oppression and its effect, but self-consciously dare to change these conditions and in the process and final analysis, change ourselves. Such an historical task demands black men and women be united in love and struggle, self-conscious and committed to liberation.

It is obvious that the oppressor nation understands and fears the implications of our unity. That is why even literature is a weapon for or against us, and why the oppressor will make sure Wallace sells more books than Staples and that Ntozake Shange's *For Colored Girls...* plays to countless houses across the country and be recognized as a spokeswoman for millions of black women who don't know her and disagree with both her lifestyle and literature. A people united and conscious of its capacity and that of its enemy cannot be defeated. But what will happen to a people whose prophets are appointed by media fiat; whose vision of self, society and the world is reduced to their genitals; and whose personal agonies are portrayed as collective consciousness?

Launching an attack against Richard Wright, Wallace says that he seemed "much more concerned with making a lasting impression on whites than he was with self-revelation or self exploration." This, perhaps, is another unconscious self-criticism. She speaks essentially to whites and from the mouths of whites. Her language and reference literature reflect the anticipated audience.

She does not seek solutions, but allies and vengeance. She has read Shange and learned her bitterness and one-dimensionality, but failed to do for black women what Shange in a moment of clarity suggests: "Sing the song of her possibilities." And in missing this opportunity, Wallace not only fails to point to possibilities for black women, but also for black men. For regardless of our contradictions and conclusions about them, our future like our freedom is indivisible and in calmer times, maybe even Wallace, wading through troubled waters, might discover this. ■

M. Ron Karenga is associate professor of Pan-African Studies at California State University at Los Angeles. His book, *Afro-American Nationalism: An Alternative Analysis*, will be published this fall by Third World Press.

A different version of this article will appear in the near future in *Black Scholar*.

CULTURE SHOCK

AND WHO SHOULD BE THE INCREDIBLE HULK?

Jesus should be portrayed more like Superman, writes the editor of *American Baptist* magazine. In the recent film, Superman seems a "perfect balance of just-folks humanity and an all-powerful being." Jesus is often portrayed as cold and unapproachable.

A FAMILY AFFAIR?

ABC vp for programming Rick Sklar says



disco music acts as a "surrogate family" for single and divorced people, functioning as a loneliness remedy. "Rock is family music," he argued in *Billboard*, pointing to the fact that '50s teenagers

have rock-loving teenagers of their own now.

SO THIS IS WHAT THEY MEAN BY POP SOCIOLOGY

A social scientist, consultant to leading disco programming firm Burkhart/Abrams, has explained the "disco sucks" phenomenon in *Billboard*. "The violent sex rhythm of rock," he claims, reflects the frustrations of young men afraid of sex. "Disco has a smooth sex rhythm that has a wider appeal."

SOCIAL EXPERIMENT

'60s communes provided vision of the future

Alternative production coops can lead residents to an analysis of wealth and power.

CO-OPS, COMMUNES AND COLLECTIVES

Edited by John Case and Rosemary O.R. Taylor
Pantheon Books, New York,
1979, 320 pp., \$5.95

By Richard Kozle

The New Left and the counter-culture shared a glaring lack of, and general disdain for, historical perspective. There was a sense that we could fashion a new world of our choosing. We could end the way and we could build a new America on the momentum of the Movement.

Thousands of people across the country threw themselves headlong into what appeared to be the first phase of that process: the creation of new, more egalitarian institutions. They made personal commitments to long hours (for little or no pay) of planning, initiating and running such institutions: food co-ops, free clinics, law collectives, free schools, alternative newspapers and other enterprises. By the early 1970s, networks of these alternative institutions had developed their own subcultures in most large cities and college towns.

But as the political movement ebbed with the winding down of the Vietnam war, many of the alternative networks (which even at their height had never been very broadly based) faltered. The loss of a movement to provide support to, coupled with the worsening economic conditions of the early 1970s, left many wondering what all the difficult and exhausting work was accomplishing—and what it had to do with social change. Now, although these social experiments have not totally disappeared, the sense of service alternatives as a growing and subversive movement is gone.

For some people, like the Abbie Hoffman-esque characters in the movie *The Big Fix*, all that remains is nostalgia. Others have reacted to the seeming collapse of the alternative vision with deep cynicism. It has been difficult to look back and learn—to look back with the intention of moving forward. Fortunately, that is precisely what the authors and editors of *Co-ops, Communes and Collectives* have tried to do, with this solid worthwhile collection of articles.

Some of the authors are scholars, others are journalists. The editors have been involved in political and academic circles in Boston for many years, as teachers and as editors of *Working Papers* and of *Socialist Review*. All look back on a time that affected them deeply and personally. Their styles differ greatly, ranging from Andrew Kousser's journalistic report on the transformation of Boston's "underground" media

into prosperous hip-capitalist "sea-level" operations to Rosa-beth Moss Kanter's almost formal anthropological research report on urban communes.

Individual articles, both among the case studies and the more theoretical pieces, suffer from oversimplification and sketchiness. But when read in relation to each other, they provide a varied treatment of certain recurring themes. These include the problem of sustaining collectivist organizational forms while competing with a dominant target institution; the burnout factor stemming from a breakdown of professional/client distance in the service professions; the dilemma of trying to grow to serve a political movement at the same time as the movement is already in decline; the naivete of thinking that all our hopes could be turned into reality.

The most compelling articles in the collection place the development of alternatives in the context of the specific social problems they were created to address. One, by Larry Hirschhorn, looks back to the roots of the social service crisis of the '60s. The other, the book's concluding chapter, written by *ITT* editor David Moberg, addresses a major shift in focus that has occurred in alternative institutions in the past several years. Although the argument is only presented piecemeal and in very broad strokes, a sense of two waves of alternatives emerges. The first occurs in response to a particular crisis in the service professions and the second, current and perhaps less widespread, wave occurs in response to a serious crisis in employment and production.

Hirschhorn argues that, in the early '60s, the ethic of social mobility and personal growth spread in all sectors in the workforce, causing widespread dissatisfaction and instability in both family and worklife. This "developmental ethic" put pressure on the social services that the old professional practices and structures could not handle. One result was the infusion of new federal money into the social services. Another was the creation of alternative institutions such as free clinics and community mental health centers.

David Moberg carries the analysis further. He distinguishes between the service alternatives of the late '60s and the new alternatives that developed in the mid-'70s: alternative production enterprises. The economic downturn of the '70s, the persistence of high unemployment, and the flight of industry to areas with cheap labor led to a new approach among advocates of alternative institutions. There has been a shift from thinking of people as clients or consumers to thinking of them as producers,

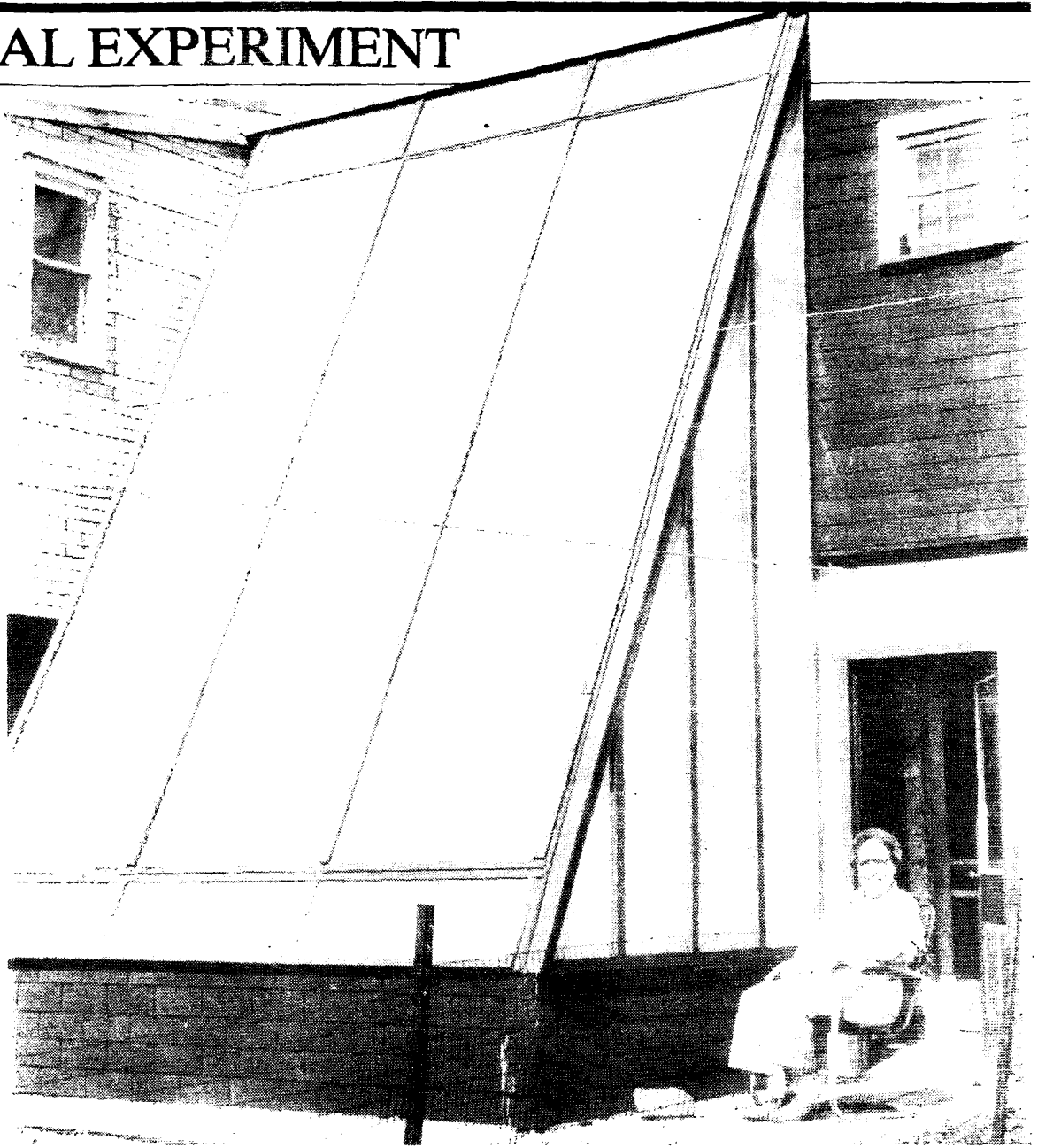
as active citizens who can and do create wealth, and who therefore can and should have control over that wealth. As Moberg notes, "These new alternatives generally involve a deeper engagement in the political and economic life of communities and less withdrawal than the earlier alternative institutions."

A few examples make the trend clear. A Community Action Agency in Vermont started a business that builds and sells wood stoves, lowering the price for low-income residents and enabling all local residents to begin to move toward energy self-reliance. Recycling operations in some areas are being run as small businesses that can capture wasted wealth in the community and can generate jobs and perhaps other new business to process the recycled waste. In Youngstown, Ohio, workers and community residents are trying to reopen the Campbell Works steel plant after its shutdown by corporate owners.

These projects share a concern with the control of resources and, by extension, wealth. These production-oriented alternatives though they are prone to many of the serious problems that plague all alternative institutions, do lead participants and local residents to a direct analysis of wealth and power in the community—and to a sense that a community's wealth rightly belongs to the residents of that community. This growing sense of "entitlement" in regard to community wealth is a positive political development.

Clearly, as the authors of *Co-ops, Communes and Collectives* stress, building an institution is not the same thing as organizing for power.

But the value of an alternative vision—especially one grounded in a political analysis of the control of wealth—should not be underestimated. As Moberg understands, alternative experiences have "contributed towards visions of the future—the classic and neglected task of shaping a distinctly American socialism."



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ART EXHIBITION

Artists form anti-racist coalition

Under cover of artistic neutrality a new "brutality chic" glamorizes sadism, sexism and racism in art and advertising.

By Eva Cockcroft

Artists in New York have formed a coalition to protest racist gestures in the art world. They claim that the cultural arena is a testing ground for the limits to permissible social attitudes.

The formation of the coalition was sparked by an exhibit of abstract charcoal drawings by a young white male artist. The exhibit, given the title of "Nigger Drawings," was shown at a New York publicly-funded, avant-garde gallery, Artists Space.

In response to protests by black artists and others offended by the use of the word "nigger," gallery directors explained that the artist, Donald Newman, had used the word to describe his poverty and feelings of economic oppression while he was working.

"The title added dimension to the work," Ragland Watkins, associate director of Artists Space explained. "It was part of the work and we don't tamper with artists' work."

The Coalition against Racism in the Arts sponsored a letter-writing campaign to Artists Space

and its funding agencies—the New York State Council on the Arts, New York City's Department of Cultural Affairs and the National Endowment for the Arts—protesting the use of the word "nigger" in a public show supported by public funds. In an April demonstration at Artists Space, more than 100 artists, a third of them black, confronted gallery staff in a three-hour debate, and a teach-in marked the beginning of outreach efforts by the group.

Members of the coalition argue that sadism, poverty, sexism and racism are emerging in a glamorized form in "brutality chic." They cite as examples an artist photographing himself bare-chested and in chains or a fashion photo of a glamorous model grabbed brutally by her long hair while gazing ecstatically at her would-be ravisher; the blatant use of swastikas, racial epithets and sexist lyrics by white "punk" rock groups, who "warm up" their audiences with jokes about the Holocaust. Among the liberal cultural elite, "brutality chic" appears as the racist title "Nigger Drawings."

Does the art context itself sanitize and redefine the object? Art historian and coalition member Carol Duncan points out that, carried to its logical extreme, the redefinition of reality through its entry to the "high" art realm would mean, "If I killed someone in an art gallery, it wouldn't be murder, it would be art."

Duncan and others in the Coalition Against Racism in the Arts argue that the idea of neutrality has long been used to perpetuate racism and sexism in the art world.

They believe that, in the larger social context of the Bakke decision and the Weber case, the choice by Artists Space to present the "Nigger Drawings" show is not merely a lapse of good taste, but an indication of a return to a more open display of racist attitudes.

What black artist Howardena Pindell describes as "an endur-

ing, underlying, pervasive racism in the arts" still blocks access for blacks and other minority artists to the cultural network. A recent survey by the Foundation for the Community of Artists Task Force on Discrimination in Art found that of 748 artists in 40 New York City galleries, only five were black, 13 Hispanic, and 19 Asian, a total

of 5.2 percent minority artists.

Alternative galleries with an ethnic focus, like the Latin Cayman Gallery or the Asian Basement Workshop, receive only a fraction of the funds given to primarily white avant-garde institutions like Artists Space or the Clocktower's work and exhibit space at PS1.

Eleven years after the Festival of Life, the Chicago chapter of Rock Against Racism was granted the first legal permit for live music at the site of the 1968 demonstration and riots, in Lincoln Park. Ten thousand people gathered for the event, billed as a 12-hour free concert to "protest racism and capitalism." Spirits were undampened by the last-minute cancellation of the Tom Robinson Band and the chilly foggy afternoon. Performances varied from the activist New Wave of DOA to salsa from La Confidencia, blues from Lonnie Brooks and a rousing impromptu appearance by the Patti Smith Group—sans Patti, by contractual snafu.

—Cary Baker



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DOCUMENTARIES

Scared Straight!, a successful hype

By Jim Rouman

In *Scared Straight!*, a documentary by Arnold Shapiro, convicts perform a brutal ritual of intimidation before a weekly audience of juvenile delinquents from the street corners of Newark and Paterson. They call it prevention. Produced last fall by Gene Autry's independent Los Angeles station, KTLA, the film ran to unqualified raves. Then it won an Oscar. TV syndication brought it to the nation and megabucks to its producer.

The film's claims to have found a miracle solution to social problems should be seen for what they are: the producer's sales hype to local television stations, struggling to meet their requirements for public service programming.

The premise is simple—hold a gun to our children's heads and they'll absorb the rules of civilized society. Narrator—sincere, rumpled Peter Falk, his credentials stamped by years as Columbo—works at convincing us that a dose of controlled terror is the definitive answer to juvenile criminality.

And he has proof. Three-month follow ups of the 17 subjects of the scare process had only one with a further police contact. The rest: scared straight. By now, 13,000 kids have gone through the New Jersey program and *Scared Straight!* claims go to 90 percent of them are cured.

We see 17 kids hauled to Rahway (N.J.) prison on a school bus, escorted by probation officers and court intake workers. Guards united with the cons against a common victim, have their lines down pat: "...get in line...marion on the line...look straight ahead."

Their face-to-face confrontation with 14 lifers delivers the first jolt. In seconds the smart asses go watery with fear, pushed close to hysteria by screamed threats of mayhem: "I'll bite off your nose and spit it in your

face," and rape: variations on the theme of "grease your asshole, boy, we got sexual needs in this prison." Each con has his rage, his costume and a fine-tuned rap on the degradation and brutality of prison life.

The cons have strutted this stuff enough to have the timing perfect. The kids sit in a row on backless benches and the cons one by one harangue, watch for the sweat, see the fear glaze eyes. At the end, no sappy goodbyes, no handshakes, no thank you's. "Get out; if you come back I'll make you my slave."

Audiences see the sweat, the terror (one boy ran out to vomit) and conclude: this works. At last something is making these kids consider what we do to people who do not play by the rules.

Director Shapiro claims that "*Scared Straight!* has a happy ending—a path that works—and not only a path that works but one that doesn't cost us any money. The convicts are there." And in Massachusetts, Maryland, New York, Florida, Missouri, Oregon and California, similar programs are being considered or adopted by officials who got the message.

But *Scared Straight!* is not a promising new technique in delinquency prevention. James Finckenaue, professor of criminal justice at Rutgers University studied 46 subjects of the *Scared Straight!* program, chosen at random, and compared their subsequent arrest histories with control groups that matched the test group on all variables except that they had not taken a trip to Rahway.

He concluded that *Scared Straight!* alone is unlikely to have any lasting effect. And it could aggravate some delinquent behavior. Some of the young people who went to the program reported that they had definitely had their attitudes toward crime changed, but not their behavior. Comparing the control and test groups, the groups that has been declared "straight" by virtue of their exposure to the program



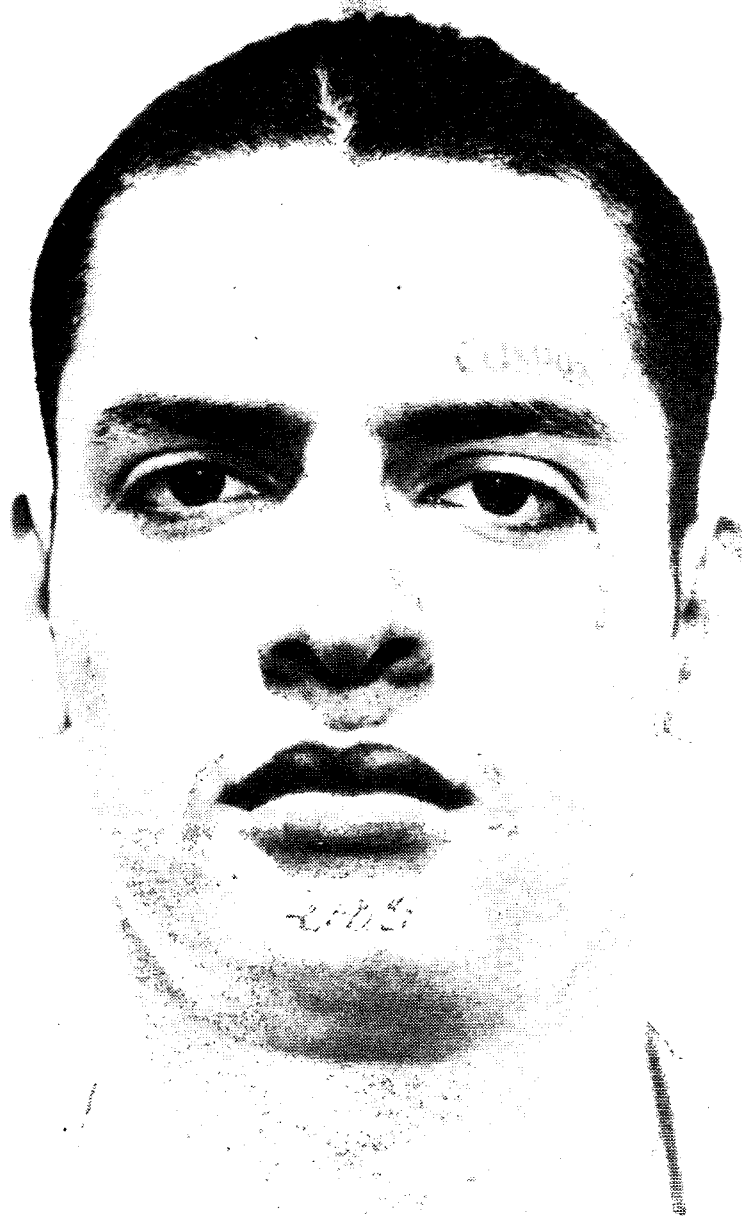
had worse arrest records than those who had stayed at home.

The Washington, D.C. National Center on Institutions and Alternatives, a government-funded research group, researched the backgrounds of the teenage participants in the film. Thirteen of these 17 bad-ass characters were volunteers. One had burglarized a candy store, another lit firecrackers on the 4th of July, a third had phoned a fake bomb scare.

New Jersey's corrections officials are hedging on their former enthusiasm about the program. William Fauver, Commissioner of the New Jersey State Department of Corrections, says the program never claimed to reverse the effects of a youngster's behavior problems. He has ordered the Rahway administration to begin "running the place like a jail, not a Hollywood studio."

In testimony before a House subcommittee on human resources on June 4, Jerome Miller, former Massachusetts juvenile corrections director, said the program "...leaves a false impression about intimidation as a behavior-changing tool." He noted that too many of the elements of delinquency—poverty, education, and peer pressure among them—are not touched by the program.

Representative John Conyers, Michigan Democrat and head of the House Judiciary Committee's subcommittee on crime, called *Scared Straight!* an insult to anyone who had spent five minutes studying the complex problem of delinquency.



"Don't make me hurt you!" threatens a convict in *SCARED STRAIGHT* (top). Above: Convict Casper tattoos a tear for each year in prison, in *TATTOOED TEARS*.

Gruesome truths of prison life

By Theo Blomquist

This month, PBS affiliates have the choice to air 57 minutes of documentary hopelessness, *Tattooed Tears*. The work of Nick Broomfield and Joan Churchill, *Tattooed Tears* is a stream-of-consciousness style account of life in the Chino Youth Training School, one of 15 prisons specifically organized for 17 to 21-year-old males under the California Youth Authority.

Established in 1941, the Youth Authority's expressed purpose was "to replace retribution with rehabilitation." In the Chino center today the CYA's motto is a miserable joke. *Tattooed Tears* rams this point down the viewer's throat from the opening scene to the last.

In the documentary tradition of Frederick Wiseman (*Exile on Catfish Row*), there is no voice-over commentary, music or interviews. There are only straightforward, hard-hitting scenes, and watching them is like being dragged

through a nightmare. Without seeming to intrude or condition their subjects' behavior before the camera, Broomfield and Churchill describe daily life at Chino with excruciating detail.

Broomfield, 31, is English. Churchill, 35, is American; among other things, she was cinematographer for Peter Watkins' *Punishment Park* and *Evening Land*. The pair's last collaborative venture—*Juvenile Liaison*, a day-to-day study of the British Police's Juvenile Liaison Department's operations in dealing with pre-prison potential offenders—was so devastating an expose that it was effectively banned in Great Britain. They secured permission to shoot *Tattooed Tears* from the out-going director of the CYA, who, according to Broomfield, was particularly dissatisfied with Chino's results. The filmmakers had originally planned a five-week shoot in Chino; they ended up staying for three months.

"For us it was a voyage into total insanity," Broomfield told

IN THESE TIMES. "For both staffs and wards, it's a constant battle.

"You had to try to stop applying traditional criteria to things you were seeing. The hopelessness—the impossibility of reaching anyone on a warm, one-to-one basis was too much. The place is designed to preclude that.

"People were discouraged from putting themselves on the line. The guards were not sadists. At Chino, staff jobs are a good way to make money and they just try to get through it with as little hassle as possible.

"We finally became a bit cynical there. What we saw became less depressing as it became more surreal."

Dada rehab.

When *Tattooed Tears* focuses on Chino's feint at rehab/teaching, surrealism goes dada. In a room full of computer appliances, inmates are "taught" remedial reading and spelling while video-image teachers kindly introduce themselves to the accompaniment

of muzak. The dehumanized clincher is a TV screen explaining the use of a hammer: "The hammer should be held firmly at the end of the handle..."

Then, a look at more personalized education: a live teacher is rapping to a group of young men about why people like them are behind bars. He is black. The majority of staff and inmates at Chino are black or Chicano. Society cannot countenance liberty for those who interfere with the making of money and profit. One inmate holds that in Russia and China "they give people what they need, but here they don't give up nothin'."

Nonsense, explains the teacher. In the U.S. we have swimming pools and people eat steak. "In America we have six classes! We got the upper class, the lower, the upper-upper, the lower-lower—whole lines of them. Over there, you only have one class. Bam! That's it," he declares conclusively. "This is the greatest, most sophisticated country on this planet Earth, and that's why we're having to build more and more of these penitentiaries every day." The next scene is of Chino's tactical squad in anti-riot drill.

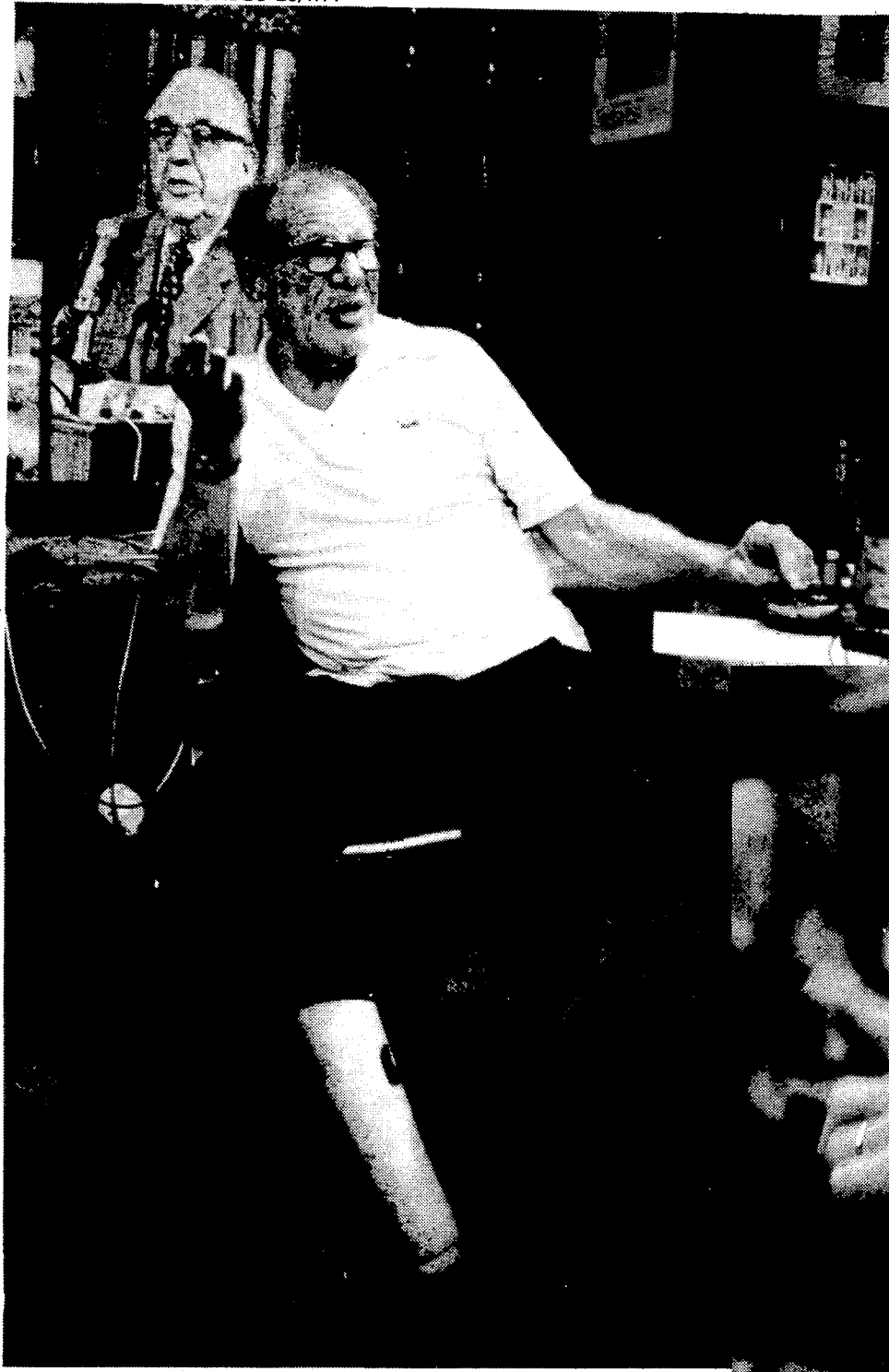
"I went into Chino," says

Broomfield, "expecting to make a much more political film, in which the inmates would have much more political awareness than they did.... It wasn't there."

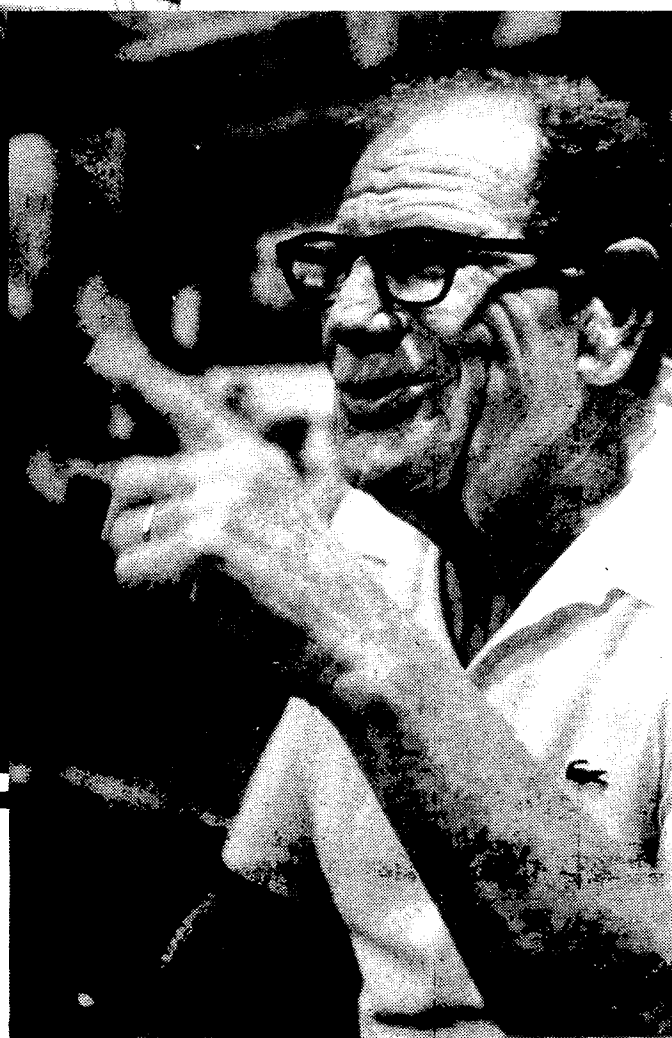
Inmate resistance is generally pathetic, futile, expressed in individual spurts of useless anger or silent non-cooperation. Missing in the film is clarification of why this is, and what the nature of social relations is between inmates. "Casper" tattoos a tear drop below his eye for each year at Chino. Ronny reclaims his alienated rights with suicide attempts. He cuts up his leg and then refuses stitches: "I wanna bleed, I want it to get infected...one of the few rights I still got."

Amid this pessimism and despair, the makers of this muck-raking film do not feel obliged or qualified to favor their audience with possible solutions. Their work is more *agit* than *prop*.

"Obviously, the solution would have to be on a societal level," comments Broomfield. "But I think it would be presumptuous, as a filmmaker who has flipped through a few books on prisons and only spent three months in one, to think that I could offer the right solution. The film is historical documentary." ■



Veeck hired the first black American Leaguer. He may soon hire the first female player.



Ruffian in the Diamond

Bill Veeck, Chicago White Sox Owner

By Vicky O'Hara

IT'S SUMMER IN CHICAGO, AND Chicago White Sox owner Bill Veeck is talking baseball, something he likes to do from time to time. Newspapers, books, doesn't matter where, even to himself, as long as he's heard he doesn't care. He's talking about the future, too, something that shouldn't seem to matter too much in a sport he claims hasn't changed in 40 years.

Sitting in the White Sox cafeteria, in what he calls "my office," Veeck gives an "all right, okay, yeah and see yuh," to the receiver of an extension telephone, adjusts his wooden leg for comfort, and tries to explain. Between jabs of a cigarette, "Today's athlete is not only bigger and faster and stronger, he's also smarter. Yet, somehow, this strange game has always managed to stay in balance. The speed of the runners versus the speed of the bat and the ball, and the skill in throwing it, has maintained its proper balance through all these changes. So the wealth of statistics gives you continuity, is meaningful.

"In basketball, with the advent of the seven-foot giant, the whole philosophy of the game has changed. In football, 1,000 yards used to be an unbelievable goal to reach. Now, you've got a 1,000-yard back

on every major college or university and pro team. In other words, the balance has switched in all other games."

The White Sox people are lining up at the steam table and rattling their cups in their saucers before the pot. Veeck just waves and keeps talking with the fervor of a man who has been saved. "We all need something stable. We all need something that is familiar... Give us a sense of some security... that everything hasn't gone topsy-turvy. Baseball... is an island of stability in an unstable world." Pans clang, chairs scrape and, once again, the telephone rings.

He talks to fans, White Sox fans, Cubs fans, it doesn't matter. Bill Veeck's number is in the phone book, and when someone dials, his 65 years of ballpark gentility often answers.

That's because Veeck, probably more than any other major league owner, sincerely appreciates baseball fans. Their dollars keep the gates at Comiskey Park open and have allowed Veeck to support his wife and six kids while doing the same things he's done since he was a child under the tutelage of his father, William Veeck Sr.: hang out at the ball park.

Until recently, Veeck could be seen at every Sox game, wandering through the stands and talking to his customers. He says some of his best management and promotion ideas were not his at all, but

were stolen from talkative fans. This season, Veeck's leg (not the wooden one, but his other leg, the "bad" one) has kept him pretty much nailed to a chair or a hot tub, but he still answers his own telephone.

"If I don't do that," he says, "I do something else. I find it very strange that people feel they have to be shielded by nine secretaries and so on. I feel that's wrong. If you've got a beef, you ought to be able to make it."

Bill Veeck has been called lots of names over the years by people who don't like the things he's done to baseball—the gags, the jokes, the fireworks in the ballpark, the live bands, and the infamous year in which he brought a midget up to bat for the decrepit St. Louis Browns. They accuse him of prostituting the sport, of turning a venerable institution into a circus.

But they can't deny Veeck's contribution to the game. In 1941, he bought a losing minor league team, the Milwaukee Brewers. Since that time, he's operated the Cleveland Indians, the St. Louis Browns and the White Sox twice. He's made money every year but one, and he has an American League pennant to his credit. The White Sox pulled it off in 1959. Veeck's a promoter, and whether he does it for money or love of the sport is sort of a moot point. Within the confines of a ballpark, you can't have one without the other.

Money and love.

More people are now filing into the lunchroom, but the growing clatter of dishes and conversation doesn't bother Veeck at all. He nods hello to a few and continues. "This is the entertainment business. And it happens to be the best buy there is in entertainment. You can't go to a movie for two dollars here, you can come out tonight and see some big game show...a ball game, fireworks...for two dollars.

"It's a cerebral game, but it's also a game that appeals basically, to our natural gregariousness. Baseball is a game that you don't gulp, you savor. You can compare a play, and you can talk and say, 'Hey, what do you think they're going to do now? What would you do?' At a basketball or hockey game you can't do that. The action is continuous. You might as well be locked on an island all to yourself."

That island concept is the basis of Veeck's complaint about the sports arenas which more and more are replacing the old ball parks. "I happen to like the ballpark we play in," he says. "It is the oldest in the major leagues, and yet it is in fact a ballpark, not a multipurpose stadium... not a concrete and steel abortion like some of these new ballparks."

These "concrete and steel abortions" are all wrong, he continues, because they are made for football and baseball, two diametrically opposed games. According to Veeck, "One is a game of parallel lines and the other of right angles. So if you have your fans close to one, they're far away from the other." He shakes his head in disgust or despairing amusement.

"We seem to have found one set of drawings that some architect thought was good, and we just repeat them. In the process, we're going back 2000 years. We're going back to the coliseum in Rome where spectators were so far removed from the participants...where you sat 20 feet above them and turned thumbs up or thumbs down."

Hardly the proper formula for a ballpark where, according to Veeck, "you're not just a spectator, you're a participant. Because you are so close the people are real to you. And the further away you remove them, the greater is the loss of association. We all identify, consciously or unconsciously, with athletes."

Women in the park.

And that, Veeck says, includes women. For years sports promoters have been

Continued on page 19.

